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CUNEIFORM STUDIES
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HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

*Papers read at the Annual General Meeting
April 19, 1963*

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CUNEIFORM STUDIES AND THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

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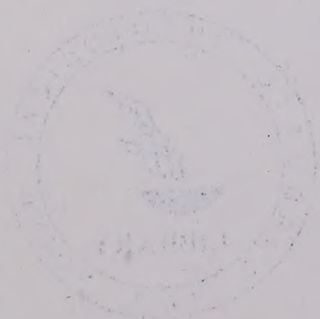
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MESOPOTAMIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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(Read April 19, 1963, in the Symposium on Cuneiform Studies and the History of Civilization)

IN our approach towards any aspect of non-Western civilization we commonly expose ourselves to the hazard of applying Western categories to phenomena completely alien to us. In large measure this is unavoidable, and even necessary; we must convert these phenomena, or translate them, as it were, into our own conceptual language if we are to gain any understanding of them. But we must always be aware of the fact that we are doing so. In the discussion of historiography the hazard is especially serious. For historical thinking is the very hallmark of the Western mode of apperception of all experience. Western man is historical man; and the historical mode of thinking is as characteristic of the exact sciences as of the social ones. Western man is conscious of himself and his milieu as a momentary stage in a continuous, ever-changing stream of events that, by definition, can never return to a stage already passed. This historical view comprehends past, present, and future, as a single organic entity. Stated another way, we in the West perceive the passage of time in the form of change. The understanding of the universe—the natural universe no less than the society of man—is, in our conception, to understand processes. History, process, change, are notions hardly distinguishable from each other in Western conceptualization.¹

Our difficulties begin with the tendency to forget that history is a conceptual form in which the Western mind automatically arranges the facts of experience, and not itself an objective fact which must be universally perceived. What is demonstrably true, is that all civilizations (and primitive societies as well) are as aware of the past, and of

the pastness of that past, as is our own. It is notoriously not true, however, that all civilizations must react towards the past in the same form of historical consciousness that characterizes the Western mind. Therefore, when we are brought face to face with certain records of a non-Western civilization, such as that of ancient Mesopotamia, which on the surface appear to us as roughly analogous to the literary forms of Western historiography, we usually find, on closer analysis, that these records somehow do not measure up to historical writing as we conceive of and practice it. The usual result, on the part of assyriologists, is a kind of dissatisfaction.² Professional historians as well as philosophers of history, and theologians, are usually not at all bothered about it; they proceed on the implicit or even explicit assumption that the historiographic discipline affects only the West.³ With apparently complete obliviousness of the massive evidence produced by some two-thousand years of pre-Marxist Chinese historiography that followed a fully thought out rationale, and with a knowing nod at most in the direction of the Classical Greeks, professional Western historians for the most part serenely

² See, for instance, S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956), p. 32: "The Sumerians, it is safe to say, produced no historiography in the generally accepted sense of the word. Certainly no Sumerian man of letters wrote history as the modern historian conceives it, in terms of unfolding processes and underlying principles." A. L. Oppenheim, "Assyriology—Why and How?" *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960): 413, puts it more plainly: "There is a noticeable absence of historical literature, in the sense that texts are lacking that would attest to the awareness of the scribes of the *existence* (italics mine) of an historic continuum in the Mesopotamian civilization of which they themselves and their tradition were only a part." This seems to imply that the "historic continuum" is not just a conceptual construct, but a demonstrable and universally valid truth, which the Mesopotamians—presumably because of some culturally or otherwise conditioned deficiency—failed to grasp.

³ Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 145, sums up this Western appraisal of non-Western historiography succinctly and with sweeping finality: "Like the ancient civilizations of Asia, the classical civilization of Greece and Rome was basically unhistorical."

¹ The British historian E. H. Carr, in his recent book *What is History* (New York, 1962), has given one of the most eloquent and characteristic statements of the Western concepts of history and historiography. On almost every page of this book the fundamental linearity of the Western conception of history comes through. Nor does he back away from the acknowledgment that the Western concept of history is inherently a "progressive" one (see esp. p. 155 ff.), although his definition of "progress" is not at all the eschatological one of the nineteenth century.

continue to endow their conceptual canons with universal validity.

But the present paper is not meant as another discourse on the evils of occidentocentrism. We shall be compelled, however, to give some thought to our most basic historiographical concepts and definitions, if we are to say something about Mesopotamian historiography that is meaningful to the Western historian, and does not, at the same time, distort the picture of the conceptual universe of the Mesopotamians (assuming that we can enter into it at all).

In the first place, then, it will be plain that our own understanding of the word "history" is inadequate to comprehend any Mesopotamian literature that deals with the past in any systematic way. There is at least one Western historian, however, who was conscious of the plurality of modes by which different civilizations could apprehend the past, and has accordingly offered a definition of history that could serve as the common denominator for the Mesopotamian historiographical experience and our own. This definition was given by the great Dutch historian Johan Huizinga: "History is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of the past."⁴ As applied to ancient Mesopotamia, this definition must comprehend both the contemplative mode and the literary forms it took, by which the Mesopotamians rendered account to themselves of their own past. With this definition we need not restrict our attention only to those genres of Mesopotamian writing which in form most appear to resemble one of the Western forms of historical narration. We need not even be looking for the Mesopotamian literary media or genres in which historical events *per se* constitute

the main subject matter. What we must seek is that form or genre in which the Mesopotamian thinker confronted his experience of the past, with detachment as well as involvement, with the sense of urgency or immediacy as well as with the spirit of an objective quest; in short, in precisely those attitudes that we expect of any inquiry in the Western world that would claim the dignity of serious historiography.

It will come as no great surprise to assyriologists when I single out the Mesopotamian genre we usually call the "omen texts" as the one answering most closely to the description of an "intellectual form in which the civilization renders account to itself of its past." The close interrelation between the omen literature and Mesopotamian historiography has been recognized for many decades.⁵ The omens abound in allusions to historical events, some in wording found in identical form in the chronicle literature, and others, which are to be found in no other sources, but yet have the unmistakable ring of authenticity. As a result of the publication in more recent years of omens dating back to the beginning of the second millennium B.C., containing historical allusions known theretofore only from very late versions,⁶

⁴ In his essay "A Definition of the Concept of History," *Philosophy and History*, Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer, ed. by R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford, 1936), p. 9. Huizinga was impelled towards such a broader understanding of the concept of history precisely by his sense of the parochialism of earlier formulations. It is also the very consciousness of the self which is so characteristic of Western thought and almost totally undeveloped in the non-Western world—that has enabled Western thought to be at all cognizant of non-Western modes of apprehension, while the opposite was never the case. In the realm of history this sense is aptly characterized by Huizinga, *ibid.* as "... the doubtful privilege of our scientific civilization of to-day to be for the first time able consciously to survey the possible plurality of the forms of history." One wonders whether Huizinga's early training and interest in Sanskrit might not have contributed to his ability to grasp this possibility of the plurality of historical forms and modes.

⁵ The earliest publication and discussion of the systematic material of this kind is that of L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (2 v., London, 1907). Cf. especially 2: ch. 2, and the relevant texts in 2. E. F. Weidner in his article "Historisches Material in der babylonischen Omina-Literatur," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 4, 2(1929): 266 ff., collected all the scattered historical allusions in the omen-texts published up to his time. The first serious effort to analyze them from the standpoint of Mesopotamian historiography is that of H. G. Güterbock in "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltungen bei Babylonern und Hethitern," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie Neue Folge* 8, 42(1934): 1-91; see especially 8 f., 16 f. and 47 ff. (The second part of this still most basic study is devoted to the Hittite material, published in the same periodical Band 10, 44(1938): 45-149.) A more up-to-date compilation and study of the historical omens was made by J. Nougayrol, "Note sur la Place des Présages Historiques dans l'Extispicine Babylonienne," *Annuaire, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses*, 1944-45: 5-41; but as the title indicates, the study concentrates on the divinatory aspects rather than on the historiographic implications of the material. On the structure and rationale of the predictive element in the omens both in their use of historical allusions and otherwise, see A. L. Oppenheim, "Zur keilschriftlichen Omenliteratur," *Orientalia* 5(1936): 199-228.

⁶ See especially A. Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 1(1947): 253 ff. with reference also to the im-

the historical veracity of the omens has come to be acknowledged by modern scholarship more readily than in decades past.⁷ The reasons for this reliability, however, and the nature of the relationship of the omens to the more obvious historiographical genres, have not yet been adequately formulated. Towards this end it will be the thesis of the present paper that the omen texts, and the historical information imbedded in them, lie at the very root of all Mesopotamian historiography, and that as a historical genre they take precedence both in time and in reliability over any other genre of Mesopotamian writing that purports to treat of the events of the past.

The Mesopotamian form of learning known as "divination" was rooted in, and is most characteristic of, the fundamental cognitive mode of the Mesopotamian intellect. The universe of the Mesopotamian was assuredly not a man-centered one; his mode of awareness drew his attention first to the external world, and secondarily, at best, to himself. The understanding of the self—and of the place of man in the cosmic scheme—depended first on the knowledge and comprehension of the environmental universe. The prime precept of Western consciousness "know thyself" would have been incomprehensible to the Mesopotamian, and its corollary injunction that "the proper study of mankind is man" would have struck him as frivolous and even dangerous nonsense. To the Mesopotamian the crucial and urgent subject of study was the entire objective universe, without any interposition of the self between the observer and the observed. There probably has never been another civilization so singlemindedly bent on the accumulation of information, and on eschewing any generalization or enunciation of principles. Thus all phenomena subject to contemplation, animate and inanimate things, abstract notions, concepts, institutions, language and grammar, and the phenomenon of man as well as the gods, were apprehended by the same cognitive approach; they could be known and understood in their apparent features and characteristics. Ultimate understanding of the universe would, in theory, require nothing but the painstaking accumulation of as much detail as possible

about literally everything: no phenomenon was too trivial to record, and the obstacle towards the attainment of effective knowledge or control over the universe was quantitative rather than intrinsic.

But the objective universe of the Mesopotamian consisted not only of things, it included also observable occurrences, which, in essence, are only the universe of things interacting in time. A moment of time was apprehended and defined as the sum total of the occurrences and events known to be in temporal conjunction. Moreover, just as the realm of objects is repeatable, in the sense that there exist many examples of the same phenomenon, so too were the moments of time repeatable, if the set of occurrences constituting a particular moment repeated itself. It is in this contrasting response to the aspect of time between Western and non-Western civilizations that we will find the root of the difference between Western and non-Western historiography.⁸

Now, to the Mesopotamians, as to all peoples, the primary concern of the society was to ensure its own well-being. The best insurance for coping with the future is the most reliable and accurate knowledge of the experience of the past—a principle to which any modern empirical science would not take exception. A simple illustration makes the system clear: On the basis of the observation that "The North Wind doth blow," we make the prediction that "we shall have snow," with the implied warning to take all expected precautions. For the Mesopotamian meteorologist, however, this nexus would be incomplete. For him, if the north wind blew, and it began to snow, and if at the same time, let us say, the king went to war and was killed, all three occurrences would forever after be viewed as inextricably bound together. Had there been no previous example of such a moment in his records, the precedent would have been established by the new instance. It could be recorded in essentially two ways: "If the north wind blows and snow falls, then if the king goes on a military campaign, he will be killed." Or, it could be recorded thus: "If the north wind blows, etc. it is an omen of King X, who went to

portant Old Babylonian liver models from Mari, inscribed with historical omens.

⁷ Both King, *op. cit.*, 1: 26 ff. and Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ff. tend to credit the historical information in the omens only when confirmed by other sources, but otherwise do not consider them trustworthy. See also Goetze, *op. cit.*, 253 vs. 265 and Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, 32 ff.

⁸ Cf. Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 90: "One reason why history rarely repeats itself among historically conscious people is that the *dramatis personae* are aware of the second performance of the *dénouement* of the first and their action is affected by that knowledge." This is, to be sure, an extreme way of describing a process which the Western mind usually considers implicit and inexorable rather than one affected by deliberate reflection on the past, but the statement provides a good contrast with the Mesopotamian view of time.

war against Z and was killed."⁹ The fate and well-being of the society being, in the Mesopotamian view, almost totally identical with the fortunes of the king and royal family, it will be understandable why the historical information in the omens is almost exclusively of the kind just illustrated. The greater the number of events noted for any single moment, the more refined and precise the prediction that could be based on them. Observations were, therefore, not limited to chance natural occurrences but were gained by procedures developed for that specific end.¹⁰ For the prognostication of the fortunes of the state, the exclusive divinatory processes were astrology—the observation of astral and meteorological phenomena, and extispicy—the observation of the configuration of the entrails of sacrificial animals, the liver being the center of attention.¹¹

⁹ This procedural scheme is essentially the same as that reconstructed for the Akkadian omen of Naram-Sin discussed below.

¹⁰ I refer here to the two broad categories of divinational method: (1) the science of the interpretation of natural occurrences or phenomena which are not themselves induced or created by human action, *specifically* for the purpose of divination. This category may itself be divided into two major sub-categories: (a) interpretation of chance occurrences of unusual character, e.g., the entry of a wild animal into a dwelling—with scholastic elaboration of predictions based on hypothetical or real variations on a basic occurrence, and (b) more or less regular occurrences, such as astronomical and meteorological phenomena; (2) divinatory processes designed and carried out by human operation, such as lecanomancy—the observation of patterns created by a few drops of oil poured on the surface of a cup of water; augury—the release of a flock of specially kept birds, with observation of their behavior in flight or while pecking at grains which are scattered before them; and most important of all, extispicy, which is not quite as manipulative as the other forms of divinatory procedure of this class, but nevertheless requires the initial act of slaughter in order to make the "signs" accessible to the interpreter.

¹¹ Other sources of prognostication, such as observation of abnormalities of human and animal fetuses, could be related both to the fortunes of state and to the fortunes of the individual, i.e., the family in which the monstrous birth occurred. Some forms of divination served only in the realm of private life, such as dream interpretation (the fortunes of the dreamer being obviously the focus of attention), and interpretation of physiognomic features of a patient. These latter, of course, amounted to nothing more than mere fortune-telling, but their rationale and methodology are essentially identical with those of the more serious kinds of public divination. On this subject in general see E. Reiner, "Fortune-telling in Mesopotamia," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960): 23 ff. M. Jastrow Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (2 v., Giessen, 1905-1912), attempts the most comprehensive survey of the omen literature to-

gether with substantial translation of representative types of texts as available up to his time. The centrality of divination to all of Mesopotamian "religious" activity may be gauged by the fact that almost all of vol. 2 (which is in two parts) is devoted to the subject.

¹² The diorite plaque inscription of Urnanshe of Lagash (ca. 2600-2500 B.C.) seems to concern the consultation of the chief divination priest (u g u l a . a z u) in connection with the building of a temple, cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 6f.

¹³ The reasons for this appear to be compounded out of substantive and coincidental factors. Substantively, our extant evidence certainly suggests that the political organization of the Akkad Dynasty amounted to something of a real revolution in Mesopotamian history. We are in almost total ignorance of the causes which led to this new development; to speak of the particular personal gifts and abilities of the Akkadian kings is only to paraphrase the native traditions and to underscore our real lack of historical information. The fact nevertheless remains that it was the Akkadian rulers who were the first to establish a unified administration over all of Mesopotamia and much of its surrounding regions, following the Early Dynastic Sumerian period which was characterized by local and essentially autonomous kingdoms and principalities, grouped now and then under individual suzerains who enjoyed greater hegemony for relatively brief periods. But all this does not satisfactorily account for the almost complete absence from the omen tradition of allusions to the royal personalities of the Early Dynastic period, especially in view of the fact that at least some of them left their impress on the literary tradition that was preserved to the very latest cuneiform periods (e.g., Mesanpadda of the First Dynasty of Ur, about whom a proverb is preserved in the Neo-babylonian period, cf. E. Gordon, "Mesilim and Mesanpadda—Are they Identical," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 132 (1953): 29). This then brings to mind a factor of another type, namely, the coincidental considerations relating to the development of cuneiform writing in the early period, and the question of its flexibility before its adaptation to the Akkadian language. It is suggested here that the basically logographic form of the written medium that was suited to the Sumerian for which the script was developed in the first place, was ill-suited for the purpose of recording literary and intellectual works. Such written literature first became feasible *precisely* because of the adoption of the Sumerian writing system to the totally alien Akkadian language, in the process of which the form of writing was of necessity largely phoneticized (i.e., "syllabized"). The flexibility this

is a typical omen relating to the period, concerning Naram-Sin, the grandson and third successor of Sargon, the founder of the dynasty: "If the 'palace-gate' is doubled, the kidney trebled, and there are two breaches on the right side of the gall-bladder, it is an omen of the Apishalian ruler whom Naram-Sin took prisoner upon breaching the wall of his city." This omen, and others like it, are found in exactly the same wording in collections dating from the Old Babylonian period (circa 1800 B.C.) down to the Hellenistic era.¹⁴ It is no longer doubted, however, that the event alluded to, occurred more or less as it is related in the omen. The development of the omen might therefore be reconstructed roughly in the following manner: Sacrifices of animals were routine in the city temples, often being made in behalf of the king, who, on numerous occasions, even offered the sacrificial animal in person. After slaughter, autopsies of the entrails were performed as a matter of course, and a detailed record made of the findings against any contingency that might arise. Or, a clay model of some of the organs might be made in order to preserve the exact features of the original. The pathologists, so to speak, would consult their records in order to match up the current case with one in the past, in order to determine whether the current case indicated a favorable or unfavorable prognosis. Let us then imagine that Naram-Sin, contemplating his attack on Apishal, offered a sacrificial animal. After the customary extispicine inspection, accompanied by learned discussion and consultation of the records, the experts agreed on the

afforded facilitated for the first time the recording of literature of any sort, no matter how abstract the material, although to be sure—as the paucity of literary texts from the Akkad period indicates—the potentialities of this development were not immediately realized. In turn, however, the phoneticization of the cuneiform medium brought about by the Akkadian scribes, was applied thereafter to Sumerian itself, and finally facilitated the recording of Sumerian literary and intellectual works, a program which was undertaken in earnest beginning in the period of the Ur III Dynasty, the Sumerian "Renaissance." Given, therefore, the concatenation of (1) the Mesopotamian view of the "exemplificative" rather than the unique nature of past events (as will be stressed below), (2) the truly spectacular and theretofore unmatched achievements of the Akkad Dynasty, and (3) the coincidentally increased capabilities of the written medium, it becomes understandable why the personalities of the Early Dynastic period do not survive in the omen tradition (the omen of Gilgamesh being certainly a later intrusion from the common epic tradition) and why the fortunes of the Akkad Dynasty have such a central role in it.

¹⁴ Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 257 f.

prognosis: "favorable." Thereupon Naram-Sin went confidently into battle and was victorious. The experts then went back to the record of their inspection of the day before, and where previously there had been written only their prediction "favorable," they could now expand that apodosis by writing into it the record of the actual event which had vindicated their prediction. This new precedent became established for all future time; should the entrails of a sacrificial sheep at any future date show the same configuration as this one, it could be cited as "favorable," or the actual event concerning Naram-Sin's victory could be recounted in longer or shorter form.¹⁵

It should be evident that we are dealing with a realm of intellectual activity that, absurd as its sense of causality appears to us, was a profoundly serious matter to its participants. For it to be effective, in the minds of the practitioners and their royal clients, there could be no deliberate artificial manipulation or falsification of reports for any ulterior personal ends.¹⁶ Learned and speculative elaboration of the corpus of precedents developed in time, but in essentially the same spirit that characterized the scholasticism of talmudic and medieval learning.¹⁷ Apart from the

¹⁵ A substantially similar reconstruction of the development is given by Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, p. 36. See also E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia" in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, ed. R. C. Dentan (New Haven, 1955), p. 61.

¹⁶ This is not to deny that individual divination experts, or even groups of them, might have on occasion subordinated their knowledge to more immediate and practical ends. But even in the Neo-Assyrian period, where the royal correspondence reveals the large degree to which the kings depended on their diviners and astrologers, it would be difficult to establish any significant amount of conscious and unscrupulous falsification and fabrication in the practice of this "science."

¹⁷ I.e., that a great many, perhaps even the majority, of the observed conditions from which predictions are made, especially in the later canonized collections of the different classes of omens, were not true observations, but hypothetical constructs of observations that were for the most part variations in detail of "root" observations that had an authentic historical basis. The chief principle by which the predictive result or the historical allusion was arrived at in such cases, was probably that of analogy. Thus the omens with allusions to Gilgamesh (*cf.* Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, nos. 23-24, 31, 34-37, 80-81; Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 253 f.) were suggested by the literary compositions, and their significations, by analogy to the authentically historical figures, chiefly Sargon of Akkad; note, e.g., the phrase "who had no rival" (*ša maḥira lā ʾiṣū*), which the omens apply both to Gilgamesh and Sargon, but which undoubtedly goes back to original inscriptions of the latter (*cf. passim*, in the Old Babylonian collection of

strangeness of their deductive premises, the work of the divination scholars was pursued with the same honest and detached attitude that might be expected of the modern empirical scientist in his laboratory, or the historian in the archives.

Contrasted with our sense of the uniqueness of past events which, of course, distinguishes the Western sense of history, it will be seen that the significance of past events for the Mesopotamians lay rather in their exemplificative value. The basic concerns and aspirations of a society or state, domestic prosperity, success in foreign affairs and in wars, remain constant throughout time. The experience of a single dynasty, if it was of sufficient duration, and spectacular in its rise, its glories as well as its reverses and final demise, constituted, as it were, the complete requisite paradigm for the fortunes that any ruler or dynasty would be likely to encounter in the future. For the Mesopotamians, the fortunes of the Akkad dynasty served precisely as that paradigm. While a substantial number of historical allusions to later rulers and dynasties were added to the stream of the divinatory corpus,¹⁸ the terminological and geographical orientation and the general cultural milieu of the omen corpus remain those of the Akkad period, even in omens without direct historical allusions. When this entire realm of literature came to be more or less canonized in the first millennium B.C., and with the consequent disappearance of many of those chance omens allud-

ing to other kings and countries, this Akkad orientation became even more pronounced.¹⁹

Yet for the purposes of our thesis, these somewhat extraneous allusions are of importance by virtue of the very fact that they did enter the stream of the tradition. And in this connection it is particularly significant that among these allusions are some that refer to patently authentic personages and territories for whom we have no information from any other source.²⁰ These allusions could not have been spun out of the imagination of the divinatory scholars; they must certainly represent records of bonafide omens observed and recorded at the courts of the other-

¹⁹ The preoccupation of later generations with the history of the Akkad Dynasty is by no means documented in the omen texts alone. Apart from the central role played by Sargon and Naram-Sin in the folkloristic material to be discussed below, we find, especially in Assyria, a strong political interest in the fortunes of the Akkad Dynasty. In the Old Assyrian kingdom, beginning ca. 1900 B.C. we have the sequence of kings Sargon, Puzur-Aššur and Naram-Sin. The Assyrian king-list gives their interrelation as father-son-grandson, thus making the relation between Sargon and Naram-Sin of Assyria parallel to that of Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad. It is now suspected, however, that Naram-Sin of Assyria was actually an outside conqueror of Assyria and not related at all to the native dynasty (see B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter,'" *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 8 (1954): 35, note 24). In this case, therefore, the false filiation of the author of the king-list could only have been suggested to him by the consciousness of the earlier Akkad Dynasty.

The name of Sargon was taken once again by the usurper and founder of the last great Assyrian Dynasty (721 B.C.), see also Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 92. In the same period there was composed (or copied) a schematic and in part fanciful description of the empire of Sargon of Akkad (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 92; for last edition and discussion see E. Weidner, "Das Reich Sargons von Akkad," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16 (1952-1953): 1 ff.).

²⁰ See, e.g., Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1 (King Gadra); 11 (Akaššuluša); 16, 17, 32 (Šibišallat); 79 (Sumunasa), etc., and Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 253 f. Some of these undoubtedly are actually allusions to personages not for their own sake, but as the personages who figured in some defeat inflicted by an Akkadian king, about whom the original omen was actually recorded even though his name is not associated with it. Thus the omen of the king Mansum (Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, No. 100) is almost certainly an abbreviated omen of Naram-Sin (*cf.* Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 32 with note 1), and the omen of TE-Enlilla may well be identical with ARAD-Enlilla an enemy king of Naram-Sin as well (*cf.* Goetze, *loc. cit.*), the variation in the name being due perhaps to no more than a confusion of the similar signs TE and ARAD. But some of these must be authentic omens in which the otherwise unknown persons mentioned in them were the central subjects.

Sargon's inscriptions in G. Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 104 ff.; *ma-hi-ra la i-di-in* "[the god Enlil] allowed him no rival."). Thus, too, the allusions in the omens to the legendary king of Kish, Etana (Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, no. 7) and to Ammeluanna, one of the legendary antediluvian sages (Nougayrol, *ibid.*, no. 14), are not historical allusions in the strict sense used here, but relatively late, learned and pious (but not fraudulent!) constructions.

¹⁸ Chiefly, the Ur III Dynasty, beginning with Šulgi rather than Urnammu the actual founder of the Dynasty (unless Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, no. 46 "defeat of the army of Uruk" can be ascribed to him rather than to Sargon's defeat of Lugalzagesi), a situation which might not be accidental, and could have historical significance (note that the Weidner Chronicle also begins the Ur III Dynasty with Šulgi rather than Urnammu (Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 53). By the turn of the first millennium B.C. most of the omen series were well into the process of codification, so that it is not surprising that historical events involving kings of this late period were rarely, if ever, added to the body of precedents. What is more significant is that out of the totality of the great achievement of the First Babylonian Dynasty, there survives but one possible allusion to Hammurapi (Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, no. 99), and none at all for the equally impressive achievements of the Old Assyrian rulers down to Šamši-Adad I.

wise unknown kings mentioned in them, which at some point entered the main stream of this form of learning. This phenomenon alone bespeaks the objectivity and scholarly attitude with which this form of learning was pursued, as well as the authenticity of the historical information it supplies, for all that we, in our ignorance of much of Mesopotamian history, cannot place these personages and events in any integrated historical context.

But the same is no less true for the historical allusions in the omens to the Akkad Dynasty, for which we do have documentation from other kinds of sources, including a number of original inscriptions. It will be instructive for our present purpose, then, to outline the image of the Dynasty as reflected in these different classes of evidence. Let us take first the strictly literary materials, by which I mean those compositions which treat of the Akkad period in the form of saga and legend. In this tradition we find the following general scheme. Sargon, the founder of the dynasty is the favorite and elect of the gods; he can do no wrong, nor suffer any reverses. He is the subject of a legend, related in the first person, giving the details of his birth and infancy, that is echoed later in the birth story of Moses.²¹ He is credited with exploits and dominion far beyond the confines of Mesopotamia proper. This tradition then overlooks the two kings, Rimuš and Maništušu, who succeeded Sargon, and proceeds as if Naram-Sin were the successor of Sargon, and the last king of the dynasty, whereas, in fact, he was followed in turn by his son, and by a succession of six more kings, for a total of some sixty-five years,²² all of whom this tradition ignores. Naram-Sin is cast in this tradition in the role of the near tragic "Unheilsherrscher."²³ The blame

for the downfall of the empire is placed on his shoulders, and the destruction of his capital city by the Gutian hordes of the mountains is put in his time, all by way of recompense for sins attributed to Naram-Sin that vary with the particular scheme of each literary source.²⁴ Much of this tradition is discounted by modern scholarship, but a certain residue has gained credence. The tradition about the great achievements of Sargon has been accepted without fundamental alteration. But there is also widespread opinion that Naram-Sin did experience some great reversal from which the Akkad Empire never fully recovered.²⁵

Let us turn then, to contemporary documents, meager though they be. Of the extant inscriptions drafted in his name,²⁶ only one alludes to con-

²⁴ Thus the Sumerian poem on "The Rise and Fall of the Akkad Empire" written at Nippur at least as early as the Old Babylonian period, attributes the sack of Agade (Akkad) to the wrath of Enlil (the supreme god of the Sumerian pantheon) over acts of despoilment that Naram-Sin committed against the Ekur (the temple of Enlil in Nippur), cf. S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956), p. 267 ff. Only the first part of this composition has thus far been edited, by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.

A much later composition is the so-called "Weidner Chronicle" (actually a pseudo-chronicle) probably composed in the first millennium (edited by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 47 ff.), which as far as the text goes, sets up a scheme of Mesopotamian dynastic history in which the rise to dominance and the overthrow of each dynasty is tied to the alleged piety and impiety shown in turn by each of the early kings to Easgila, the temple of Babylon, very much in the manner of the scheme of the Biblical Book of Kings, although for most of the period covered by the text, the city of Babylon was not yet in existence! Thus, Naram-Sin's alleged overthrow by the Gutians is attributed to his spoilation of that city.

²⁵ See, e.g., Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 117, note 285 end, who would attribute the attack directly to the Gutians, and Speiser, "Some Factors in the Collapse of Akkad," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 72 (1952): 100. As I write, there comes to hand C. J. Gadd's "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion" in *Cambridge Ancient History* (v. 1, revised ed., Cambridge, 1963), Ch. 19 in which the author (p. 27) expresses his belief "that disaster predominated in the end" while later on (p. 40) he conveys the sense of "a confused tradition that the reign of Naram-Sin ended in eclipse" with the probability that "Naram-Sin ended his life with a realm not much impaired."

²⁶ Actually, but one authentic contemporary or original inscription of Sargon is extant; all the others are in fact copies of the inscriptions on original monuments or statues compiled on a single tablet by a scribe of Nippur in the Old Babylonian period, the authenticity of which is not open to question, cf. the up-to-date bibliography of original sources for the Akkad Dynasty by I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary No. 2 (Chicago, 1961), p. 193 ff.

²¹ For a recent translation, with references to earlier bibliography see E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics" in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), p. 119.

²² See T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Publ. of The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Assyriological Studies No. 11 (Chicago, 1939), p. 112 ff.

²³ The characterization coined for this ruler by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and rendered in English by O. Gurney, "The Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin," *Anatolian Studies* 5 (1955): 96, as the "ill-fated ruler"; but this translation does not convey the element of the king's own instrumentality in bringing about the misfortune (by real or alleged misdeeds) which is definitely implied in the German term. "Calamitous ruler," while hardly idiomatic, would nevertheless come closer to rendering the full connotation of the German.

quests in the North Syrian region, most of the others being restricted to his consolidation of lower Mesopotamia proper. Naram-Sin, in his own inscriptions, claims control not only over the territories subject to Sargon, but control also over territories in Asia Minor and Southern Kurdistan with specific details that bespeak veracity, but more importantly, original inscriptions of Naram-Sin have been found in these very distant regions.²⁷ If the accident of the spade allows of no firm conclusions about the actual course of events, the extant evidence, by the same token, gives no indication that the achievements of Naram-Sin were any less than those of Sargon, and that, if anything, they might have been even more spectacular.²⁸

Turning lastly to the omen texts, we find the following picture. Every one of the Akkadian kings up to Šarkališarri, the successor of Naram-Sin, is accounted for, and the downfall of the dynasty and the destruction of Agade as well, but significantly, this last event is associated neither with Naram-Sin nor with his successor.²⁹ The omens for Rimuš, Maništušu and Šarkališarri are all un-

favorable, and the similarity of the circumstances under which their death is thus reported allows the suspicion of some conflation in the tradition.³⁰ For Naram-Sin, the omen tradition is unreservedly favorable. It reports only his successful and supreme rule, and his far-ranging military conquests and influence.³¹ For Sargon, while the tradition is in general favorable, it is not unreservedly so. Some omens allude cryptically to difficulties he encountered in certain campaigns from which he was extricated in some way through divine intervention.³² A parallel instance might have been the subject of more explicit allusions in other omens which refer to grave difficulties encountered by Sargon and his army on some occasion in which the king's own life was endangered.³³

³⁰ Goetze, *op. cit.*, Nos. 13, 14, and 21; Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, Nos. 29, 42, and 87. All three are reported to have been assassinated by their palace attendants, which is in itself not incredible. The manner of death for Rimuš and Šarkališarri is given as pelting(?) with tablets or seals (*kunukkātu*), a coincidence of detail which, unless the phrase conceals some idiom or procedure not to be understood literally, strains our credulity.

³¹ This fact was already noted by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³² Goetze, *op. cit.*, Nos. 11 and 12, Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, Nos. 55, 62, and 66. The sense of this historical allusion to Sargon's walking or running into (*habatu*) darkness and then seeing light, or of the goddess Ištar bringing forth light for him, can only be the figurative one relating to an event—probably a military expedition—which for a while appeared to be headed towards a calamitous result, but which suddenly, almost miraculously, turned to the king's favor; it is not to be taken literally, as does, e.g., *The Assyrian Dictionary* 6: p. 12, in dealing with the same passages. The suggestive parallel is Isaiah 9:1: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; they that dwelt in the land of shadows—a light shined forth upon them." A parallel to this interpretation is provided also in Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, No. 63 (as restored by the author from an unpublished text): "... c'est un présage du roi de la totalité qui, l'an[goisse ayant connu, connu ensuite le repos (?)]".

³³ Specifically, Nougayrol, *ibid.*, No. 75, which is unfortunately only partially preserved. It appears to concern a later campaign against the Amorites (MAR.TU) whom he had defeated on an earlier occasion, No. 74); on the second occasion he appears to have encountered some difficulty from which he was rescued (UD.DUŠU = *ušēšūšū*). This was already seen by Nougayrol p. 20, note 84, to parallel the allusion found in the omens cited in note 32 above, all of which relate to a campaign against Marḥaši (in the East), on which occasion it was Ištar who rescued the king.

Still another historical allusion that might be equated with the incident alluded to in the omens mentioned in this or in the previous note is that of Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 230, B = Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, No. 20: "... it is an omen of Sargon, whose troops a rainstorm engulfed (whereupon) *bēlišunu ana aḥamiš ušpila*." The interpretation

²⁷ See especially Gelb, *ibid.*, p. 198 f., Nos. 7, 8, and 12 (from Diyarbekir, Nineveh, and Tell Brak, respectively, all in the Eastern Asia Minor-North Mesopotamia region).

²⁸ The suspicion may even be voiced that the legends, in Hittite as well as Akkadian, describing Sargon's march to Burušandar and his holding court there (the *šar tamḥāri* story, cf. the bibliography in Gelb, *ibid.*, p. 194, Nos. 2a, 2b) might have whatever kernel of truth they contained in the actual achievement of Naram-Sin, and that, in line with the requirements of the literary tradition as described below, this glory, like almost all the others of the dynasty, was transferred to Sargon.

²⁹ Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 254 and Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, *passim*. The fact that the ominous allusion to the destruction of Akkad is not coupled with any name of the rulers of the Akkad Dynasty (cf. Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 259, No. 22, and Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, No. 86) should be compared with the parallel situation with regard to Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Ur III Dynasty, in which case the omens explicitly couple the allusion to this king with the destruction of Ur, cf. Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 261 f. and Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, Nos. 23, 51, 52, and 84. Were there any evidence that the fall of Agade came in the time of Naram-Sin or of Šarkališarri, the omens would surely have preserved this information in the same form. Nougayrol, *ibid.*, No. 21, does connect the destruction of Akkad with Šarkališarri, but the cuneiform text in question has the reference to the destruction on a separate line, the beginning of which is lost, and from the scheme of this text it would appear that either the destruction is the apodosis of a separate entry, or an alternative prognostication to the previous one, of the type that is frequently met with in these texts, e.g., Nougayrol, *ibid.*, No. 53.

The chronicles referring to the same period, but written much later—and closely related to the omens in derivation—cite chapter and verse even more explicitly in reporting Sargon's reverses.³⁴

of the last phrase will determine whether the allusion is a favorable or unfavorable one. A. Poebel (*Historical Texts*, Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum (Philadelphia, 1914), vol. 4/1, p. 130, note 11) rendered the phrase "hurled (?) their weapons upon each other," and so took the omen as an unfavorable one. Weidner explains the phrase as implying that the troops were so disorganized by the storm that their individual arms were lost, the troops being reduced to taking up whatever weapons they found. While this interpretation is hardly an improvement over Poebel's, the net result is still that the omen is unfavorable. Güterbock, however, *op. cit.*, p. 60 f., translates "they exchanged weapons with each other" as a symbolic gesture of reconciliation (Versöhnung) between allegedly feuding factions within Sargon's army, with an open battle between them being avoided by the sudden and fortuitous descent of the rainstorm that separated the feuding groups, which both sides presumably took, on this interpretation, as a divine sign. In this interpretation Güterbock is followed by Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and by Speiser, "An Angelic Curse, Exodus 14:20," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80, 3 (1960): 200. There is not the slightest ground for this reconstruction. Güterbock's reference to the Chronicles in support of his theory of a mutiny in the army, turns out to be the report that in Sargon's old age (the Sumerian King-List credits him with a reign of fifty-six years) "all the lands revolted against him (*ibbalkitaššu*)" which is not quite the same thing, and this event is the subject of a separate omen (see note 34). Nor is any evidence cited for the exchanging of arms as a gesture of reconciliation. Furthermore, the sense of "(exchanging weapons) with each other" would have been better justified by Akkadian *itti aḥāmiš* rather than *ana aḥāmiš* which the text has, as already suggested by Poebel. In support of the meaning "they thrust their weapons one against the other," I might suggest the parallel of the "mock" fight between the troops of Abner and Joab at the pool of Gibeon (II Samuel 2:13 f.) who ended up by thrusting "their swords each into the other's side." In the case of Sargon's troops, I envisage the following context: The army was marching on a campaign and about to launch an attack against some enemy when a sudden squall disorganized it, and perhaps split it up; in the darkness and confusion each group thought the other was the enemy and proceeded to attack the other. This allusion, as far as it goes, would of course be unfavorable. But it must be remembered that almost all such allusions in the omens are laconic, and what remains unexpressed is as important as what is written, e.g., Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, No. 53: "it is an omen of Apišal" which could not possibly be interpreted as a favorable omen of Naram-Sin if there did exist other allusions to the same event in fuller and more explicit form. Here too, we might be dealing with one of a sequence of episodes constituting a historical development of some magnitude, which at certain turns seemed unfavorable from the point of view of the major subject (Sargon), but the final result of which, especially when viewed in retrospect, proved favorable.

We find, therefore, that the total picture of the fortunes of the Akkad dynasty as given by the omens contradicts the image of the literary tradition in fundamental features. Yet it cannot be doubted that the omens, at the same time, give us a more detailed and balanced picture of that period in history than we can derive from the literary tradition. And from the point of view of modern historiographic methodology, the conclusion is inescapable that the testimony of the omens is much the more reliable. Upon analysis, it would become clear that all genres of Mesopotamian literature that purport to deal with past events, with the exception of the omens and chronicles, are motivated by purposes other than the desire to know what really happened, and the authenticity of the information they relate was not in itself the crucial point for their authors.³⁵ In the case of the Akkad

Thus it is possible to place the omen under discussion in just such a context: There was a campaign that appeared to be heading towards disaster as a result of a freak accident, but in the end Sargon (and his army) were delivered, by the intervention of Ištar (who made a light appear for him in the darkness). The occasion might have been the war either against Marḥaši or Amurru.

³⁴ Cf. King, *op. cit.*, p. 6, reporting the revolt of all the lands against the king whom they were able to besiege for a time in his own city of Agade before he turned the tables on them, and especially p. 8, which brings Sargon's career to a close on the ominous note detailing the sacrilege he committed against Babylon—this anachronistic impossibility deriving from the same source that inspired the Weidner Chronicle (see note 24 above)—which aroused the wrath of Babylon's god, Marduk, who sent famine upon the population and incited unending revolt throughout his realm. The two late versions of the ominous collections of events report the wide-scale revolt in much the same wording, King, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 f., 41 ff.

³⁵ This is true for two of the most imposing historiographic documents that have come down to us, the Sumerian and Assyrian King-Lists. For the first, Jacobsen's analysis (*op. cit.*, p. 162 ff.) proved conclusively that the author's primary aim was to give an account of the various dynasties that ruled in Babylonia down to his time in accordance with the theory that the "true" or legitimate kingship could reside in only one city at any one time, and that the author held fast to this theory even in the face of clear evidence that we know he had for the contemporaneity of certain kings of different cities, all of whom he had to accommodate within his scheme; the facts, as he knew them, therefore had to be accommodated to the theory. While the Assyrian King-List is not designed to demonstrate such an all-encompassing scheme, Landsberger's penetrating analysis of this document in the light of other Assyrian records, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff., proved that in the course of the growth of this text, and before its final edition in the ninth century B.C., there was some "tendenziöse Entstellung" of the evidence designed to legitimize the place of Samsi-Adad I and his ancestry—which was of non-Assyrian origin—in the scheme of the

era, the scheme of the literary tradition is too apparent; it is the simplified scheme of folk saga everywhere, which polarizes good and evil, Heil and Unheil. Sargon, the founder of the Dynasty, is the obvious choice for all grace and favor. It was Naram-Sin's misfortune, so to speak, to have come after Sargon, and it was precisely because he became a ruler of such great renown that only his name, besides Sargon's, came down in the folk tradition whereas those of his two predecessors and those of his successors disappeared. And it

Assyrian dynastic succession, as well as a deliberate expunction from the tradition of the record of the native dynasties who—from inscriptions still preserved—were responsible for ridding Assyria of Šamši-Adad's dynastic heirs. This exposure by Landsberger of deliberate misrepresentation and censorship in the Assyrian King-List had the important historiographic consequence of cutting the ground from under the scholars who had accepted the King-List at essentially face value, and who thought they had found in it the "philosopher's stone" with which they could solve once and for all the still very vexed problem of early Mesopotamian chronology.

We need hardly spend much time here on other genres of Mesopotamian historical documents such as date-lists, royal inscriptions, and royal annals (of Assyria in particular). They do not represent native Mesopotamian historiography, at least in the sense required here, even though they do reflect a *sense of history*, which is especially true of some of the Assyrian royal building inscriptions that betray an accurate knowledge on the part of the later Assyrian kings of temple building history going back to more than a thousand years before their own time (on this see especially Speiser, *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, p. 46 f.). Documents such as these constitute, to be sure, important sources for modern historiography of ancient Mesopotamia; they are not directly relevant, however, to the subject of the historiography of the Mesopotamians themselves.

Finally, it should be pointed out, the existence of a *sense of history* in ancient Mesopotamia could, on occasion—no less than in modern Western Civilization—be used to subvert the very *raison d'être* of historiography. The most striking illustration of this is the Cruciform Monument of Maništušu, which was shown by I. J. Gelb to have been a deliberate forgery perpetrated by a priest of the Ebabbar (temple of the Sun god) of Sippar during the Old Babylonian period, i.e., some four to five-hundred years after Maništušu (see I. J. Gelb, "The Date of the Cruciform Monument of Maništušu," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8(1949): 346-348). The forger attempted in this fashion to establish for his temple certain rights, privileges and revenues by alleging them to have been instituted by a ruler of the revered Akkad Dynasty, in a manner that recalls nothing so much as the spurious "Donation of Constantine" of the eighth century A.D. Both documents testify to the existence in their respective cultural milieus of a sense of the past and the authority of tradition on which the forgers attempted to capitalize; by no stretch of the definition, however, could either of these documents be said to come within the rubric of historiography.

was only natural, therefore, that the downfall of the Akkad Dynasty—the exemplar of all such political and social calamities in subsequent Mesopotamian history—should be attached to Naram-Sin's personality, transfiguring it, and causing his real achievements to be ignored.

There remains for our consideration the true historiographic genre of the chronicles, which exhibits, as do the omens, those traits of objectivity and disinterested inquiry which bespeak for it the characterization as an *intellectual form* in Hui-ting's definition. As a genre, the chronicle arrives late on the Mesopotamian scene. Nevertheless, where the omens and chronicles are found to deal with the same events in the same words, modern scholarship has usually assigned priority to the chronicles.³⁶ It is submitted here that the relationship is the reverse. Even if it can be shown that in the case of the chronicles dealing with the Akkad Period, the omens appearing in the same form were based on them, it would not be grounds for attributing general primary status to the chronicles, and only secondary status to the omens.³⁷ Time prevents us from discussing this point in detail, but the very fact that the omens are attested in the earliest recorded periods, while the chronicles are essentially a first millennium development,³⁸ should itself be sufficient to arouse

³⁶ Cf. Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and Speiser, "Some Factors in the Collapse of Akkad," *loc. cit.*, p. 97, notes 6-7.

³⁷ This view of the relative priorities was already suggested by B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (2 v., Heidelberg, 1925) 2: p. 372. The interrelationship of the specific texts of the Chronicle "King Nr. I" and the parallel late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian historical omen collections is analyzed by Güterbock, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-61, and even he is compelled to postulate an independent origin for some of the omen allusions which he calls "Source Ia." These two late omen collections are clear evidence of a development that began possibly towards the end of the second millennium B.C., whose purpose was to gather the historical omens which theretofore were scattered and undifferentiated from the nonhistorical omens within whose collections they were imbedded. Prototypes of such collections might well have existed in the early part of the first millennium B.C. from which Chronicle "King" and the two parallel late historical omen-texts could have independently descended.

³⁸ Together with these chronicles deriving from the first millennium B.C., including the notices about the post-Akkadian dynasties through the Hammurapi and the Kassite periods (especially King, Chronicle No. 2, p. 15 ff.), one must consider also the notices in the Assyrian King-List in chronicle form about Šamši-Adad, Aššur-dugul, and Ninurta-apal-Ekur, see I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13(1954): 209 ff. It is here suggested that these notices cannot be cited as proof that the chronicle form existed in

doubt about the prevailing view. Here, I should like to underscore the Chinese analogy. By common consensus, the ultimate sources of Chinese historiography—which is composed basically in the chronicle form—are traced to the oracle bones of the Shang dynasty.³⁹ Otto Franke, in an essay on Chinese historical writing,⁴⁰ makes it clear that the chroniclers of the succeeding Chou period were by profession divination priests, whose conceptions concerning the interrelationship of cosmic and human events corresponded to the views of the Mesopotamians in almost every detail.

Every civilization has its own style and genius. The Chinese, starting with a set of beliefs and concepts very similar to those of the Mesopotamians of the second millennium; the source of all of them might well have been contemporary omens relating to these rulers, which, in accordance with the scheme described above (p. 466), disappeared through the tendency of the omen scholarship to concentrate on the Akkad Dynasty.

³⁹ The oracle bones themselves can hardly be characterized as "historiographic documents." Their operative rationale, nevertheless, is the same as that which underlies the historiography of the Chou and later periods, namely, the interdependence of natural events with the fortunes of the king and the royal court. The information in the oracle bones is analyzed by Jao Tsung-i, *Oracle Bone Diviners of the Yin (Shang) Dynasty* (Hong Kong, 1959), in which the material is tabulated by the name of the diviner-priest, and under each of these, by the subject matter of his operations. Thus, the diviner K'o (pp. 73-240) was consulted on the subjects of hemerology and weather, the "decade" (the next ten-day period), the harvest, hunting and fishing, "coming and going" (e.g., whether the king should or should not go somewhere on a particular day—recalling the Mesopotamian hemerologies), illness (e.g., the king's toothache or head trouble), dreams (e.g., the interpretation of the king's dreaming about a dead ancestor), building activities, sacrifices—to mountains, gods, localities, royal ancestors, deceased ministers, and military expeditions. The implication in all of this activity is that the direst consequences would result if the indications of the oracle were not heeded, but this aspect is not explicitly formulated in the Shang documents. I am indebted to Professor Wolfram Eberhard for this reference, and for discussing with me other aspects of the interconnection between Chinese cosmology and historiography.

⁴⁰ O. Franke, "Der Sinn der chinesischen Geschichtsschreibung" in *Aus Kultur und Geschichte Chinas* (Peking, 1945), pp. 374-380; see especially p. 375: "Wir sahen, dass die Stellung der Archivare eine priesterliche war und dass sie die Aufgabe hatten, die Vorgänge in der Natur und deren Zusammenstimmung mit wichtigen Staatsakten zu beobachten. Dieser kosmische Gedanke, der die chinesische Auffassung vom Staate bestimmte, bedingte es, dass die Ordnung des Universums auch die der menschlichen Gesellschaft einschloss und dass Regelwidrigkeiten am Himmel Störungen auf der Erde, dass heisst im Staate, voraussetzen liessen."

tamians, began at an early stage to stress the historical at the expense of the cosmic component of the oracle-event complex, and went on to turn the annalistic and chronicle form into a highly sophisticated historiography within their own conceptual canons. The Mesopotamians, true to the last to their elemental empiricism, never dared to sever completely the course of human events from what they conceived to be their cosmic matrix;⁴¹ the emergent chronicle barely got a foothold before Mesopotamia was submerged altogether in the Hellenistic and succeeding tides. Mesopotamian historiographic thought, as is true of much else of its intellectual achievement, never became articulate. But the rationalism of the Chinese, and the eloquent rationality of the Greeks should not be allowed to disguise the identity of their apperceptive forms with those of ancient Mesopotamia.⁴²

⁴¹ It may be highly significant in this connection that the Neo-Babylonian version of the historical omens was ruled by the scribe in two parallel columns, the historical allusion being written in the right-hand column in the register paralleling the register in the left-hand column in which was recorded the extispicine portent corresponding to it. In other words, there appears to be here the incipient thought that could lead to the "emancipation" of history from the cosmic process, for if the right-hand column is read independently it constitutes nothing but pure chronicle (apart from the formula "It is an omen of King X, who under this sign . . .").

The "orthodox" Mesopotamian approach, however, is better illustrated by the opposite development, in which the chronicle form was utilized to record portentous observation in chronological sequence, without reference to "historical" events. See the so-called "Religious Chronicle," King, *op. cit.* 2, ch. 7. This kind of "chronicle" is closely related in turn to that class of Seleucid texts which A. Sachs has characterized as "diaries." See A. Sachs, "A Classification of the Babylonian Astronomical Tablets of the Seleucid Period," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 2(1948): 285 f. These texts record day-by-day observations of lunar, planetary, astral, and meteorological phenomena; the price-fluctuations of food staples and wool; the variations of the height of the river level during the current month; noteworthy social (political secular, cultic) occurrences. It is this kind of documented practice that suggested to the scholars of the late Assyrian and Babylonian period the "reconstruction" of the forty-seven portentous occurrences that forboded the fall of the Akkad Dynasty. See B. Meissner, *op. cit.*, 2: p. 277.

⁴² The characteristic aim of Chinese historiography is didactic, in the well-known "praise and blame" formulation, not by explicit moralizing on the part of the historian, but by his choice of significant facts out of the past that would speak for themselves, cf. C. S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 12, 69 f. In other words, the events of the past, brought by the dispassionate historian to the notice of the kings of the present would bring home the lesson to be learned. There can be no doubt that the same

Lest this assertion appear too broad, I should like to conclude with the following quotation from a most eloquent and rational historian in justification of the work he was about to start:

I shall be satisfied if it is favorably received by readers whose object is exact knowledge of the facts which have not only actually occurred, but which are destined approximately to repeat themselves in all human probability.

And a few sentences later:

There were amply attested occurrences of calamities for which there were traditional precedents but few substantial examples, such as earthquakes, which set in with unparalleled range and violence, or eclipses, which occurred with greater frequency than had ever previously been recorded. There were also severe local droughts and consequent famines, while one of the worst scourges was the plague, which materially reduced the population.

Thus wrote Thucydides, that most rational of Greek historians, in the preface to his History of the Peloponnesian War.⁴³

objective was foreseen by the Mesopotamian omen scholars, and was pursued in a parallel way. That the events of the past constitute lessons for the future underlies the whole science of divination, and the lesson is implicit too in the strong hold the diviners had on the conduct of the king's affairs, as we learn from the correspondence of the late Assyrian kings. But that moral and ethical principles underlay the structure, is made certain by the unique text which was first characterized as a "Mirror for Princes," and has lately been translated under the title "Advice to a Prince," W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 110-115. In this text, in the form of a series of protases and apodoses, there are postulated a variety of injustices and inequities that a ruler might perpetrate upon his subjects, each of which will be recompensed by an appropriate punishment affecting the ruler personally and his realm. The phraseology of many of these apodoses can be found in almost identical wording in the omen texts, some in historical allusions; others seem to be a recasting in the form of predictions, of curse formulae normally found at the close of royal documents, such as treaties. Here then we have the ultimate reduction to a "paradigm" of the lessons of "history," in a form characteristically Mesopotamian, but aiming at the same purpose that true historiographic literature did in traditional China. (Just as this text constitutes the moral-ethical analogue to the "public omens," there exists in parallel fashion a moral-ethical analogue to the "private" omens [see note 11 above]. This is the text series published by F. R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie Neue Folge* 9(1936): 77-113.)

⁴³ Quoted from A. J. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought* (Boston, 1952), pp. 19-20.

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ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIAN RELIGION: THE CENTRAL CONCERNS

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THE best way to begin a paper entitled "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns" is perhaps to say what the words "religion" and "central concerns" were meant to convey.

By "religion"—and so also by "ancient Mesopotamian religion"—we would wish to understand the human response to a unique type of experience, the one William James called religious experience and Rudolph Otto "numinous" experience. Otto has analyzed it as a confrontation with power not of this world, a wholly other, outside of normal experience and indescribable in its terms; terrifying, ranging from sheer demonic dread through awe to sublime majesty; and fascinating with irresistible attraction inviting unconditional allegiance: *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*.¹

¹ See William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York, 1902); Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (Oxford, ninth impression, 1943), G. van der Leeuw, *La Religion dans son essence et ses manifestations* (Paris, 1948), §110 Religion.

Following is a list of abbreviations used in the footnotes:

- AJSL. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
AOF. *Archiv für Orientforschung.*
AS. *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Assyriological Studies.*
ASKT. Haupt. *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte.*
BE. *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.*
CAD. *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.*
CT. *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum.*
GSG. A. Poebel. *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik.*
JCS. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*
JNES. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
MDP. *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse.*
MSL. B. Landsberger. *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon.*
OECT. *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.*
PBS. *University of Pennsylvania. Publications of the Babylonian Section.*
SBH. G. Reissner. *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen.*
SEM. E. Chiera. *Sumerian Epics and Myths.*
SL. S. Langdon. *Sumerian Liturgies.*
SK. H. Zimmern. *Sumerische Kultlieder.*
TRS. H. de Genouillac. *Textes Religieux Sumériens.*
TCL. *Textes Cunéiformes de Louvre.*

While this experience seems to be essentially one, the human response to it is demonstrably manifold and—since it is human—contingent, and dependent on many factors. As a particularly powerful such factor must be counted the urge in man to seek security and salvation in his allegiance with the power. The urge arises out of the inherent uncertainties of the human condition and is so dominant in man that under it his immediate understanding of the power, and of allegiance to it, comes in very considerable measure to reflect his own self, his deepest needs, his most profound fears. It is these most profound fears, conditioning and shaping the religious response, lending it different emphases from age to age, that we would attempt to trace for Ancient Mesopotamia.²

YOS. *Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts.*

ZA. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft.*

² It is, of course, in no way our intention to try to reduce religion to fear, or to fear and its counterpart hope; merely to distinguish and try to trace these important components of the human religious response for Ancient Mesopotamia. A more comprehensive statement we have tried to give in "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of William Foxwell Albright*, edited by G. Ernest Wright (New York, 1961), pp. 267–278. See also our article, "Assyria and Babylonia. Religion," in the 1963 printing of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. As particularly characteristic of the Ancient Mesopotamian response we tend to see its unreflected apprehending of the numinous as will and power in and for the specific situation in which it was experienced to come into being and be. The numinous was thus experienced not as one but as many different powers, form was attributed to these different powers in terms of the different situations in which they were thought to be encountered and human values in the situation, whether good or evil, tended to condition the response as one of allegiance or one of avoidance and defense. It was particularly in this evaluation of situations that the human urge to seek security and salvation became guiding for selective attention and directed primary allegiance toward powers in situations and phenomena recognized as basic for human survival, powers in the basic economies.

General presentations of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion may be found, e.g., in E. Dhorme, *La Religion assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1910), which in many respects is not superseded by the same author's *Les Religions de Babylonie*

In thus dealing with Ancient Man in his most profoundly contingent and insecure aspect we must needs present a side of him that is not at all that of the self-assured resolute man of action, builder of cities and maker of history, that we know so well from the monuments. Rather, we must try to make our own the lines in "The Waste Land" that say:

And I will show you something different from either
Your shadow at morning, striding behind you,
Or your shadow at evening, rising to meet you;
I will show you fear in a handful of dust.

THE FOURTH MILLENNIUM:³ FAMINE

Fear in a handful of dust.—The fear at the very roots of existence that long ago, down

et d'Assyrie (Paris, 1949). See also J. Bottero, *La Religion de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1952), and cf. H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago, 1946; also in Penguin edition as *Before Philosophy*, 1949) and D. O. Edzard in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig section I.1.

³ I.e., Ubaid, Warka, Protoliterate and Early Dynastic I incl. Generally we may say that in attempting to organize the varied materials for Ancient Mesopotamian religion within a meaningful temporal framework we have been guided by the following considerations:

(1) The sources available for the earliest periods down to the later parts of Early Dynastic are almost exclusively archaeological in nature, written sources of some substance begin late in Early Dynastic but flow freely only at two points in time, in the Old-Babylonian Period and in the Neo-Assyrian and later periods. We are thus rather unevenly informed and must often have recourse from the less well documented to the relatively fully documented periods for understanding. Such recourse, however, very obviously presents problems of method.

(2) Most striking, perhaps, is the case of the earliest periods. Interesting and suggestive as are the materials directly datable to these periods it is quite clear that they do not in fact constitute an autonomous body of evidence interpretable in and of itself; rather, dependence on later evidence is so essential for understanding that if the early materials were left to stand by themselves they would be largely meaningless and incoherent.

(3) While recourse to later evidence is thus necessary for understanding of the earlier materials such recourse must not be had uncritically, for the later materials cannot be considered of a piece but represent a stage of a developing tradition comprising elements directly surviving, elements surviving more or less altered and reinterpreted, and elements that are new developments altogether. Before they can be confidently used they must be carefully analyzed and evaluated, observable differences in basic religious attitude and form must be discerned, internal criteria of relative age considered and the various strata of tradition distinguished as far as possible. Only thus can they be utilized for the interpretation of older data without obvious danger of anachronism.

(4) As an important criterion in the evaluation of the later materials we consider the observable difference be-

through the fourth millennium, gave to the religious response in Mesopotamia its major direction would seem to have been a simple one: fear of starvation.

Early Mesopotamian economy was unquestionably a remarkable achievement, able for the first time to provide sufficient food so that large numbers of humans could congregate in cities. But it was also a precarious and uncertain economy, for it was based on artificial irrigation, the most touchy and tricky basis imaginable, nervously reacting to vagaries of nature and man alike.⁴ Disasters, famine, slow or quick

tween "intransitive" and "transitive active" view of the gods. All Ancient Mesopotamian gods appear to be the power in and for some phenomenon, they are gods, e.g., of heaven, of the storm, of the sweet waters, of the moon, of the sun, of birth, of fertility and yield, of reeds, of barley, of beer-making, etc., etc. However, whereas some of them such as, e.g., the god Dumuzid, god of fertility and yields, have intransitive character, are mere will and power for their relevant phenomenon to be, others, such as, e.g., Enlil, god of the storm, transcend the limits of the phenomenon with which they are associated in that they will and act beyond it, they are powers broadly active in human life, guiding and shaping human history. For a discussion of these two aspects see "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (New York, 1961), p. 268 f. and "Toward the Image of Tammuz," *History of Religions* (Chicago, 1961) 1, 2: pp. 190-192.

(5) As for the relative age of these two views of the divine, it may be confidently assumed that the intransitive view is a general and an old feature, for an unmistakable intransitive core is traceable in all figures of the Sumerian pantheon. The active transitive view, on the other hand, applies less generally and—more important—it is always connected with and expressed under inherently late anthropomorphic forms borrowed from human society and its human dignities. (On the earlier nonanthropomorphic stage of visualizing the gods see Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Leipzig, 1936) and our "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," p. 269 f.) The specific extension of anthropomorphism with which we are here dealing—politicomorphism—can be dated with a fair amount of probability to the middle of the Early Dynastic Period since the specific form of political institutions assumed for the gods, primitive democracy with general assembly at Nippur and ruler image close to that of primitive monarchy can best be accommodated at that point of time (See our discussion in "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 52 (1957); 91-140, esp. pp. 106-109 and 120). It would accordingly appear that materials characterized by transitive active character of the gods in politicomorph expression are less suitable for reconstruction and interpretation of evidence from before Early Dynastic than is evidence characterized by an intransitive view and that the overall picture suggested is one of the gods as powers in nature, particularly in its economical aspects, before ca. 3000 B.C.; as powers also in history after that date.

⁴ See generally Frankfort *et al.*, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 125-128; Robert M. Adams, "Early

death must have been always with those early men.⁵ And the character of their religion as we know it bears this out. The powers to whom they turned were powers in and behind their primary economics on which life depended: fishing, herding, agriculture, as even the briefest look at the character of the chief gods of their cities will show. Aim and purpose of their cults were to insure the presence of these essential powers for fertility, produce, and food. Houses—temples—were built for them so that they might dwell with men as members of the human community; rituals, such as the one shown on the Uruk Vase and on numerous roll-seals, cele-

brated the sacred marriage between the power for fertility and crops, Dumuzid, and the power in the community stores, the goddess Inannak, thus binding the power for fertility to the community in the strong bonds of marriage. We may surmise that other rites, lamenting the absence or the death of the power for fertility, endeavored to bring him back through the magic of human longing and desire. In brief: man felt solidaric with the powers in nature for fertility and produce and food, on which he depended so utterly, and, feeling solidaric, he did his utmost to help and enhance them, to insure that they would realize themselves, appear tangibly before his eyes in their own desirable mode of being.⁶

Civilizations, Subsistence and Environment" in *City Inevitable*, ed. Carl H. Kraeling and Robert M. Adams (Chicago, 1960); Jacobsen and Adams, "Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture," *Science* 128, 3334 (1958): 1251-1257; Jacobsen, "Summary of Report by the Diyala Basin Archaeological Project . . .," *Sumer* 14 (1958): 79-89.

⁵ Many passages in the later literature testify to intimate knowledge of the terrors of prolonged famine when "the daughter sees the mother go in and the mother does not open her door to the daughter; the daughter watches the balances of the mother, the mother watches the balances of the daughter" and—as the famine continues—"they set aside for a meal, they set aside the child for food" (CT XV 49.i.7'-12').

The importance of communal storage as a means to counteract the precariousness of the early economy and as a prime factor in the achievement of conditions for permanent human settlement has hardly yet received the attention it deserves. It underlies the "temple-economy," which originally most likely embraced not merely a temple or group of temples but the whole community, as it underlies the later palace economy. Significant are the frequent designations of temples as storehouses (é-uš-gíd-da: *arahhu*, *našpaku*, *ašlukkātu*; é-gi-na-a-b-du₇: *šutummu*; gá-nu-n: *ganinu*). Note especially the Gá-nu-n-ma-h in Ur with its central cellas and surrounding store-rooms) and as places of division of yields (é-ziki-šū-p[eš₃] na-ám-mu-lu-a-mu: *bītu ki-i-ni ma-ha-zi šá ni-ši-ia* SBH 31.9 "my good house, my people's place of dividing up the yield" see further ZA 52: 103 note 19 but note that šū-peš is better understood as "to make the 'hands' three," i.e., to divide (yield) into three parts. The Accadian equivalent *šabāšū* is conceivably ultimately derived from the Sumerian expression). The many-sided goddess Inannak seems originally to have been the personified power of the store-house (see ZA 52: 108, note 32). In the Gilgamesh Epic she promises to store grain enough to feed the people for seven years to alleviate the famine that releasing the bull of heaven will cause. The door of the giparu in Eannak at which she awaits her bridegroom Dumuzid is said to be the door of the store-house (é-uš-gíd-da TRS 70 rev. 2-3. Cf. ZA 52: 108 note 32). An example of a ruler—a "lord," e n, embodiment of magic powers for fertility—alleviating a famine with stored surplus of grain offers the story of Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Philadelphia, 1952)).

⁶ See "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East . . .*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (New York, 1961), p. 271-274 and "Assyria and Babylonia. Religion," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1963 printing. For the cult of Dumuzid and of Inannak see also ZA 52: 108, note 32, Edzart in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig 1, 1: pp. 51-53 and 81-89 and our article "Toward the Image of Tammuz" in *History of Religions* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 189-213.

The name Dumuzid (written ⁴D u m u - z i, the final d occurs in writing only when it forms a syllable with a following vowel) is mostly rendered as "the true son" (see, e.g., Edzart, *op. cit.*, p. 51: "rechter Sohn"). In JNES 12 (1953): 166, note 23 we suggested that the element zi (d) most likely represents a factitive nomen agentis from the intransitive stem zi (d) which occurs in the meanings *nēšu* "life," "vigour," "health" and perhaps *napišum* "breath of life." We accordingly translated Dumuzid as "he who quickens the young ones." A phrase written na-m-dum-u-z-i occurs in a hymn to the goddess Manungal in a passage in which that goddess states her capabilities as a midwife but is unfortunately not conclusive for the interpretation of the name Dumuzid. The passage (SEM 51.ii.4'-5' & 53 obv. 5'-rev. 1' & PBS I.2 no. 104 rev. 4-5 & 3NT 409, 453 and 675) reads: ⁴N i n - t u - r a k i n a m - d u m u - [z i - k a m u - d a - a n - g u b - b é - e n] g i - d u r k u s - d a n a m - t a r - r e [- d a K A - s a s - g a - b i m u - z u] "I assist (the goddess of birth) Nintud at the place of child-quickening, I am experienced in (lit. 'I know') cutting the umbilical cord and in saying (only) nice things (because) of (the possible effect of words spoken at that time on) determining (the) fate (of the newborn child)." The translation here given, "place of child-quickening," assumes that na-m-dum-u-z-i represents na-m-dum-u-z-i (d) and refers to the often crucial task of making the newborn infant take its first breath. However, because of the ambiguities of cuneiform orthography, it is just as possible that na-m-dum-u-z-i represents na-m-dum-u-z-i (g), which might denote either the "extraction of the child" or the "lifting up of the child" (cf. German "Hebamme"), and so would have nothing to do with the name ⁴D u m u - z i (d).

The name of the goddess Inannak is usually analyzed as a derivation from older *nin-an-ak* and interpreted "Lady of heaven." The final -k of the name

If we wish to gain an impression of what such a religion was like we must turn to survivals of the cult shown on the Uruk Vase, to the continuing worship of the god of fertility and new

occurs in writing only when it forms a syllable with a following vowel. In ZA 52: 108, note 34 we proposed a variant rendering: "Lady of the date-clusters" (an: *sisinnu*) and listed evidence in its favor. More recently the name has been discussed by I. J. Gelb in his article "The Name of the Goddess Innin" in JNES 19 (1960): 72-79. Gelb presents in compact form extensive and varied materials and makes many important observations. We tend to hesitate, however, in following him in his conclusions that the materials point to a form Innin as the standard form of the name of the goddess, but can here indicate only a few main lines of our different evaluation: The materials, we believe, might with advantage be strictly separated according to Sumerian and Accadian context and sifted according to whether reference is to the standard name of the goddess of Uruk, to one of her epithets, or to other deities or entities altogether. If this is done we believe that (1) the older (i.e. Old-Babylonian or earlier) evidence for the reading of the sign-group ⁴MUŠLANU in Sumerian context points to a reading *ninnana* (k). Note especially the syllabic rendering of the personal name written Ur-⁴MUŠLANU as *ur-ni-in* -[na]-na in MDP 18: 57 (Gelb 4), the Eme-sal form ⁴Ga šan-a-n-na (Gelb, *op. cit.*, 14), particularly the writings *mu-ge-e-b* *nin-na-na* (AO 4331+4335 i.2) and [m]u-ge₄-e-b *nin-na-na-ke₄* (AO 4327) in texts of Isin-Larsa date published by Thureau-Dangin in Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles de Telloh*. For the later loss of the initial n there are good parallels (see ZA 52: 108, note 32). That the name ended in a genitive -ak is indicated by numerous cases in which the final k formed a syllable with a following vowel and where accordingly ⁴MUŠLANU occurs with a phonetic complement -ka or *ke₄*. Incidentally, it may be noted that the consistency with which the phonetic complement is -ka and -*ke₄* in older texts, not -na-ka or -na-*ke₄*, tends to indicate long a before the k so that we should perhaps analyze *nin-ana.ak* > *nin-anāk*. (2) When the sign *mušlanu* occurs without divine determinative i.e. not as sign for the divine name here discussed, it had apparently also a possible value *inen* (Gelb 4) and a phonetic value *nín* (YOS IV 43 seal. Gelb 11). It should also be noted that Sumerian had a separate word *in-nin* / *nin₉*, which was used as a honorific epithet for various goddesses, also for ⁴MUŠLANU. The fact that it was once translated by Accadian *irrina* "Victoria" (Sumer xiii p. 69.1 see below) suggests perhaps a meaning such as "conqueress." That it is not a phonetical rendering of ⁴MUŠLANU is clearly shown by the fact that it occurs in Sumerian poetry in parallel with that designation and is listed as an epithet of ⁴MUŠLANU in the Old-Babylonian god-list TCL XV 10 1.203 separated by four other epithets from ⁴MUŠLANU in lines 197 and 198.

(3) The Accadian materials appear to indicate that only the name Ishtar is used to render Sumerian ⁴MUŠLANU. Accadian also possesses a number of genuinely Accadian names for originally independent goddesses of war, most of whom later came to be considered aspects of Ishtar so that their names will serve as epithets for her. Such names are O. Acc. *Inin* (endless *fīl* of '-n-n) "Skir-

life; Dumuzid, under one of his varying aspects.⁷ We have chosen as an example a section of a lament for the god under the name and aspect of Damu;⁸ the god is far away in the Nether

mishing" (cf. Gelb, p. 76 and no. 2. The recognition that *i-nin* represents a divine name is due to him), *Anūna* (*fā'il* of '-n-n with suffix -a) "Skirmish," *Anunītum* "She of the Skirmish," *Irrina* (-a form corresponding to *irritu*) "Victoria." This name developed by assimilation (see Gelb, p. 78 f.) to *Innina*. All of these names are good Accadian formations and so not evidence for the reading of the Sumerian name written ⁴MUŠLANU. We retain, therefore, for the time being the reading of the latter as *Innannak*.

⁷ This is not to say that the earlier phases of Ancient Mesopotamian religious life had not much more variety than the Dumuzid cults by themselves could suggest, probably they did. However, the Dumuzid cults with their focus on the death or disappearance of the god are probably more representative than one would at first think. Features of a similar nature are clearly present in the cult of Enlil at Nippur as shown by the banishment of the god to the Nether World in the myth of Enlil and Ninlil, interesting is also the ritual underlying E-ne-ém-mà-ni-i-lu-i-lu (SBH 44, 43, 77 and 69 cf. also BE 30, 1 no. 8 and CT 42 pl. 28) which seems to center in a successful appeal to Enlil by Innannak for the dead Dumuzid. An old myth about the god Ishkur shows that also this god was thought to have disappeared to the Nether World and had to be rescued (Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), p. 169). The near death of the god Enkik in the Tilmun myth also seems to belong; it may well retain memories of rites connected with the low waters of summer, seen as a weakening of the god's powers. The myth of Innannak's Descent, finally, also seems to root in the complex of the disappearing and dying god.

⁸ On Damu and his relations to Dumuzid see Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig, 1, 1: p. 50 f. and literature there cited; also our article "Toward the Image of Tammuz," *History of Religions* (1961) 1: p. 202 f. The name Damu means "the child" (see Deimel, *Pantheon* 687.2). As a power for fertility and new life the god would appear to have been specifically the power in the lifegiving waters as they return in springtime in the rivers, rise in the ground and enter trees and plants as sap, for when in the cult Damu's mother and sister seek him he has died in the trees and rushes and the search moves though a world that has become the Nether World, dry and lifeless. When the god is found and returns, it is from the river that he comes back.

The original setting of the Damu cult would seem to have been the essentially horticultural economy of the settlements along the lower Euphrates south of Uruk. Damu's home town is Girsu (Eme-sal Mersi) on the Euphrates and in the litany characteristic of the Damu laments he is identified with a number of neighboring deities—all chthonic in character—such as Ningishzida ("Lord good tree" married to ⁴Ā-zī-mú-a "Well grown branch") of Gishbanda, Ninazu of Enegir (cf. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* (Heidelberg, 1960) 2: pp. 57-80), Sataran of Etummal, Alla, lord of the net, of Esagik, etc. Also identified with Damu in the liturgy is every single dead king of the Third Dynasty of Ur and

World and the dry season with its growing threat of death drags on from day to day.⁹

For him of the faraways ... the wailing for (fear) that he may not come,¹⁰

many of those of the following dynasty of Isin. For each—as for Damu and the gods identified with him—the litany makes a point of specifying where he “lies,” i.e. where his grave is. It would seem, therefore, that we are here in direct continuation of very early concepts of the ruler as a magic source of fertility and able to exert that power from the earth, from his grave after death. The same early concept underlies the cult of the dead e n's for which see Deimel, “Die Listen über den Ahnenkult aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas,” *Orientalia* 2 (1920), and Penelope Weadock, *The Giparu at Ur* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago). Note also the listing of En-me-en-lú-an-na and En-me-en-gal-an-na with ^dDumu-zi-siba “Dumuzid the shepherd” as antediluvian kings of Badtibira and of En-siba-zian-na as antediluvian king of Larak in the Sumerian kinglist (see *AS* 12: 71–74). These names occur also as forms of Dumuzid in the god-lists (CT XXIV 9, K 11038, restored by pl. 19.ii) and in the Dumuzid laments (e.g. *BE* 30: 1, *BE* 30: 12.ii.14–15, K 5044, unpubl. copy by Geers mentioning ^dA m-me-lu-an-[na...], ^dA m-me-gal-an-[na] [...], ^dA m-me-siba-zian-na [...], CT 42.28 ii.22, and AO 4346 obv. in Cros, *Nouvelles Fouilles* p. 211 1'–2' A m-me-[lú]-[an-na...], A m-me-gal-an-na...). They are most likely names of early rulers, e n's, who embodied Dumuzid in the cultrites and were worshiped as powers for fertility after their death.

⁹ CT XV 26.1–21 cf. *TRS* 8.64–75. Particularly helpful is Falkenstein's treatment *ZA* 47 (1942): 197–200, cf. his comments *AOF* 16 (1952): 60–65. See also his translation in Falkenstein and von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich, 1953), pp. 185–186. The passage is preceded in *TRS* 8 by a praisehymn for Damu and a probably secondary section dealing with a divine sentence passed upon Uruk (the section may have come from the *enemmani* *ilu* lament, see above note 5). It is followed by sections dealing with the search for the god. His mother asks for him from his nurse with whom she had placed him, probably a tree, moves on in the search to the rushes and finally to the desert. The last part of the composition consists of hymns of praise for Damu as the one who comes out of the river, they have the character of processional hymns.

¹⁰ *ki-bad-du-ke₄* (var. *TRS* 8 *ki-bé-da-ke₄*) *i-lu-na-ám-er-ra* (var. *TRS* 8) *nam-mir-ra* The line allows of a great many possible interpretations and a choice between them is not easy. We analyze *ki-bad-du* (.a)k.e “for (.e) him of (.ak) the faraway places” *ilu na* (.a)m.err.O.a “the wail (*ilu*) that (.a) he (.O) may not (na.) travel (err) hither (m.)” For *er: aláku* see Falkenstein, *Die Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden* 3: p. 108. The verb is attested in Eme-sal context also in the meaning “to bring” (*wabálu* see Deimel *ŠL* 232.2) which would furnish “be brought” for “go,” “travel.” The element *na* - we interpret as the negative equivalent of *hé* - assuming that as *hé* - can denote both “may he” (positive wish) and “he may” (positive possibility) so *na* - can denote both “may he not” (negative wish) and “he may not” (nega-

For my child of the faraways ... the wailing for (fear) that he may not come,
For my Damu of the faraways ... for my anointed¹¹ one of the faraways ...,
From the pure cedar¹² where I, the mother, gave birth ... ,

tive possibility). An advantage of this interpretation is that it allows *na* - to have the same meaning throughout the passage.

¹¹ The term *gudu* (UH+IŠIB), Accadian *pašišu* “the anointed one” denotes a class of priests or cult-personnel. It is frequent as a designation of Damu in the Damu texts. Its original connotation is seen most clearly, perhaps, in passages such as *utukhé limnâte* 5 (CT CVI pl. 12) ii.1 (cf. 4. v. 60 on pl. 11): *u h-tuk u* (var. *tag-ga*) - *a-mu-dè ià ga-ba-da-an-šéš hé-me-en* “Be you a (man who begged:) ‘Plagued with lice as I am (lit. in my lousiness) let me anoint myself with you.’” which show that anointing served specifically as a means to rid oneself of lice; conceivably the oil used contained petroleum or some other effective bituminous ingredient. That this connotation of delousing underlies the term *gudu*: *pašišu* “the anointed one” may be seen from the writing of the word *gudu*, UH+IŠIB which consists of the sign *u hu* “louse” (*uplu*) and the sign *išib* “anointed” (*pašišu* K 4148.6 CT 11.38) and “clean” (*ellu* K 4148.3 CT 11.38). Most likely this writing renders an old word *u hu-išib* “lice-cleansed” which went out of use and was replaced in the language by later *gudu*. For such cases of old lost words retained in the writing but replaced in reading by later synonyms see the series *Diri-sijaku-watru*. Further indication of the *gudu*'s concern to keep himself free of infection with lice is probably the stereotype line about the *gudu* in laments for a destroyed temple: *gudu-bi hi-li-a ba-ra-mu-un-du* “its *gudu* -priests no longer go about in wigs” (Lament for Ur 1. 348), *gudu-bi hi-li-ta ba-ra-è: pa-si-is-su ina ku-uz-bi it-ta-si* “its *gudu* -priest has left (lit. gone out from) the wig” IV R. 11.33, for they suggest that the *gudu* typically kept his head shaved to avoid lice and wore a wig. For personal cleanliness as characteristic of the *gudu* generally see Gudea Cyl. A XXIX. 5–6 where *é-gudu-kù a nu-šilig-ge-dam* “a pure *gudu*-house never wanting for water” is used as a metaphor and HGT 76. vi *gudu šu-sikil-ge₁₈* “like a *gudu* clean of hands.”

The term *gudu*: *pašišu* “the anointed one” would accordingly seem to be in origin a term of personal cleanliness which has been specialized to denote the ritual purity of priests so that “the anointed one” became a term for a class of priests or cult-personnel for whom such personal cleanliness was mandatory. From such specialized connotation of ritual purity derives presumably also the symbolic use of anointing as a sign of consecration of priests and of sacred rulers in the Old Testament and elsewhere. In the case of the god Damu the use of the term *gudu* may be assumed to have essentially its basic connotation of cleanness shading perhaps into sacred purity rather than that of membership in a specific class of priests.

¹² For the close connection of Damu with the cedar, note also the following passage CT XV. 27.4–6 where his mother addressing his nurse in her search identifies herself as a cedar: *zag-mu š₁₈er-in-àm gaba-mu š₁₈u-úr-mens-àm e-me-da zag-si-mu š₁₈er-in-*

From Eannak high and low . . . , the wailing for (fear)
 that he may not come,
 The wailing from the lord's house . . . for (fear) that
 he may not come,
 The wailing from the lord's town . . . for (fear) that
 he may not come,
 That wailing is surely wailing for the flax—the
 flax-plot may not give it birth,
 That wailing is surely wailing for the grain—the
 furrow may not give it birth,¹³
 That wailing is surely for the great river—it may
 not give birth to its waters,
 That wailing is surely for the field—it may not give
 birth to the mottled barley,
 That wailing is surely for the marsh—it may not
 give birth to carp and trout,
 That wailing is surely for the reed-thicket—the old
 reeds may not give birth to (new) reeds,
 That wailing is surely for the woods—they may not
 give birth to stag and deer,
 That wailing is surely for the orchards—they may
 not give birth to honey and wine,
 That wailing is surely for the garden-beds—they
 may not give birth to lettuce and cress,
 That wailing is surely for the palace—it may not
 give birth to long life.

In her distress the mother of the god goes out
 into the desert to seek her child, and in another
 hymn we follow her as she is calling and calling
 for him there. But he is captive in the realms
 of death and cannot answer her cry:¹⁴

I am not one who can answer my mother,
 who cries for me in the desert,
 Who makes the cry for me echo in the desert,
 She will not be answered!
 I am not the grass—may not come up for her (again)
 I am not the waters—may not rise for her (again)
 I am not the grass, sprouting in the desert,
 I am not the new grass, coming up in the desert.

Eventually the god's sister finds him in the
 Nether World and tries to comfort him and
 promises to stay with him:¹⁵

duru₅-àm ⁶¹erin-duru₅-àm ha-šu-úr-ra-ka
 "my sides are cedar, my breast is cypress, O nurse! my
 limbs(?) are sappy cedar, are sappy cedar, are of the
 hashur cedar." See also the duplicate pl. 30 obv. 8-10
 and cf. for the general context TRS 8 ki-ru-gu 6.
 The mother complains to the "cut down nurse" (u-
 me-da-gur₅-ru-mu) that she entrusted Damu
 to her (me-e za-ra dumu i(!?)-ri-in-tuš
 "I let the child dwell with you") and that now he lies
 dead within her (za-e dumu-bi šā-za nī-ta
 bar-za nī-ta "You! that child lies (dead) in your
 marrow, lies (dead) in your bark").

¹³ We omit lines 11-12 as probably secondary. They
 fit badly into the general pattern.

¹⁴ SK 26 vi. 14-20. The text is an early version of
 Edinna usagga.

¹⁵ SK 27 v. 12'115'. Also an early version of Edinna
 usagga.

Who is your sister?—I am your sister,
 Who is your mother?—I am your mother.
 The day that dawns for you will also dawn for me,
 The day you see—I shall also see.

When eventually the god is allowed to sail back
 to life and the living from the realms of death
 the aura of death is still upon him, so that a cry
 of warning sounds before him:¹⁶

¹⁶ SK 35 iii. 6'-9'. Our term "priestess-bride" renders
 Sumrian en. The composition to which this text
 belongs would seem to come from the Damu cult at Ur.
 A partial duplicate is the Harvard text HSM 7527 pub-
 lished by Edzart in *JCS* 16 (1962): 80. A further dupli-
 cate, found in Ur itself, will be published by Gadd and
 Kramer. We owe the reference to it to Dr. Kramer.
 To the cult of Damu at Uruk may be assigned, on the
 other hand, the composition represented by TRS 8 and
 CT XV pl. 26 f and pl. 30 in which Uruk and Eannak
 seem to play a major role. On the basis of these texts we
 may visualize the Damu rites in Uruk as consisting of
 laments for the dead god, a search for him by his mother
 that takes her to various trees and rushes and into the
 desert, and then a finding of the god who comes out of the
 river and is escorted back in triumphal procession. In Ur
 the search seems to have continued into the land of the
 dead where Damu's sister at last finds him. They return
 together to Ur by boat, probably down the Euphrates.

The texts here mentioned appear to represent the Damu
 cult in its pure form. As the cult spread northwards it
 seems to have incorporated into its ritual and litany many
 features of the generally similar cult of Dumuzid the
 shepherd. To such a blending of Damu and Dumuzid
 materials testify the preserved versions of the composition
 Edinna usagga (e d i n - n a ú - s a ḡ - ḡ à "In the desert
 in the early grass") which identify Dumuzid and Damu
 and contain materials from both cults. This lament—or
 perhaps better the ritual to which it belongs, lament in
 the desert for the dead Dumuzid—is first mentioned in
 economic texts from the period of Ur III (see, e.g., Jean,
 SA CLXIII. 29 1 u d u - ú ⁴N i n - ḡ i ḡ - p a r ú - s a ḡ - ṣ ē è
 "one grass-fed sheep (for) Ningiparak going out to the
 'early grass' rite." Cf. also TEO 5672.iii.22, Keiser STD
 207.iii.46-47 all from Umma. In texts from Ur 1 r
 ú - s a ḡ - ḡ á "the lament 'In the early grass'." is men-
 tioned in UET III 472.9. Cf. also 273 which mentions
 ú - s a ḡ ⁴N i n - [...] and ú - s a ḡ ⁴N i n - A N - [...]).
 Our earliest versions of the lament—already blending
 Dumuzid and Damu features—are of Old-Babylonian
 date. They are SK 26, SK 27, SK 45, and Genouillac,
 Prem. Res. á Kich II nos D 41 and C 8. Later versions
 are represented in IV R 27.1, OECT 6: pl. XV K 5208,
 K4954 (unpubl. copy by Geers), Haupt ASKT 16 Sm 1366,
 Frank ZAnF VI p. 86 Rm. 220, TCL VI. 54, LKU 11,
 BA V p. 68f, K 6849, IV R 30.2, K4903+Sm2148, Reissner
 SBH 37, Macm. Rel Texts 30, Reissner SBH 80, Meek
 BA X p. 112, K3311. The composition begins with
 lament for the dead god and moves into a description of
 his mother's search for him. The search takes her to the
 cane-brake and to the desert and she tells how her son
 was taken from her by the "reve" (ga l₅-l á) in Girsu
 on the Euphrates how she intends to stand by the gate
 of the "constable" (l i b i r)—probably the reve's superior
 —to demand him back, and how she eventually takes the

O (city of) Ur! At my loud cry
 Lock your house, lock your house, city lock your house!
 O temple of Ur! Lock your house, city lock your house,
 Your priestess-bride must not go out of (her house) the Giparu,
 City lock your house!

THE THIRD MILLENNIUM:¹⁷ AND THE SWORD

With the coming of the third millennium B.C. a new fear took its place at the center of existence together with the fear of starvation—the fear of war and its ravages.

As the settled areas of the country grew and joined, the protection that had been afforded by relative isolation was no longer there and fear of enemy attack, death or slavery, became a part of life ever present in the depth of consciousness. The intensity of the danger and of the fear it engendered can be gauged by the great city-walls that arose around the towns in this period and the staggering amount of labor that must have gone into them. For a shield against danger men looked to the now vitally important institutions of collective security, the great leagues and their officers, and particularly to the new institution of kingship as it took form and grew under the pressures of these years.¹⁸ The king, awesome and majestic in his power over men, was alike the defender against outside foes and the righter of wrongs among his people.¹⁹ The new concept—opening up, as it did, a possibility of approach to the element of majesty in the divine—was early applied to the gods²⁰ and it

road to the Nether World—where these officials presumably came from—to seek her lost son there.

Still not clarified is the relation of Damu to the god or goddess of the same name who was worshiped in Isin and was considered a child of the goddess of Isin, Nin-insinak. Most likely we are here dealing with a quite distinct figure, a divine leach, who was secondarily identified with the southern Damu. A text blending features of the southern cult with elements of the Isin cult offers BE XXX no. 2 (also published *PBS* I.1 as no. 5).

¹⁷ I.e. Early Dynastic II, III, Agade, Gutium, Ur III incl.

¹⁸ Cf. *ZA* 52: 112–113 and p. 120.

¹⁹ See *ZA* 52: 110–120.

²⁰ Some of the implications of “applied to the gods” may usefully be spelled out:

1. *Role of Metaphor.* As Rudolph Otto rightly insists (*The Idea of the Holy*, Chapter II, “Numen” and the “Numinous,” p. 5–7), the numinous eludes apprehension in terms of concepts and cannot be described, only “evoked” in the mind. Concepts taken from general experience, if applied to the numinous, serve therefore essentially this function of “evoking,” they are properly metaphors or “ideograms” only. The number of such effective evocative metaphors available to individuals or

profoundly influenced the religious outlook. The gods, seen as kings and rulers, were no longer powers in nature only, they became powers in human affairs—in history. As great lords

communities is always limited and the more so the more limited the general experience of the individual or community has been. New general experience may therefore lay to hand new concepts which may prove powerful metaphors for evoking the numinous more fully and may direct and deepen religious understanding. As such a new concept, shaped by the political development at the turn of the third millennium B.C. and laying to hand a powerful religious metaphor we consider the concept of the ruler, of the lord and king.

II. *Specific Applicability.* In two ways in particular was this new metaphor capable of extending and deepening the evocation of the numinous: in its suggestiveness of the element of “majestas” and in its suggestiveness of the element of “energy” which are components of “Tremendum” (see Otto’s analysis of “Tremendum,” *op. cit.*, pp. 12–24, especially pp. 20–23, “majestas,” and pp. 23–24 “Energy.”) IIA. “Majesty.” The experience available in a small homogenous community is not generally conducive to the development of attitudes of deep respect and reverence. This must have been so also in the early Mesopotamian communities, and correspondingly feelings of real awe and reverence toward the divine are almost conspicuously lacking in old cults such as that of Dumuzid (see our analysis in “Toward the Image of Tammuz,” *History of Religions* (1961) 1, pp. 207–212). With increasing social differentiation of the human community such attitudes of respect and reverence are, however, likely to develop, especially in connection with the growing power, authority, and distance of the ruler, so that the new concept of the ruler can offer for the first time an evocative metaphor or “ideogram” for the element of majesty in the numinous. A striking example is the well-known prayer of Gudea toward the end of the third millennium, utterly different in its divine image from the Dumuzid materials (Cyl. A viii.15–ix.4):

“O my master Ningirsuk, lord, (flood-)water angry-red poured forth,

Good lord, (seminal) water emitted by the great mountain (Enlil),

Hero without challenger,

Ningirsuk, I am to build you your house,

But I have nothing to go by!

Warrior, you have called for “the proper thing”

But, son of Enlil, lord Ningirsuk,

The heart of the matter I cannot know,

Your heart, rising as (rise the waves in) mid-ocean,

Crashing down as (does the falling) ushu-tree,

Roaring like the waters pouring out (through a breach in a dike),

Destroying cities like the flood-wave,

Rushing at the enemy country like a storm,

O my master, your heart, an outpouring (from a breach in a dike) not to be stemmed,

Warrior, your heart, remote (and unapproachable) like the far-off heavens,

How can I know it?”

We base our interpretation of a-huš-gi-a as “(flood-)water angry-red poured forth” on a-gi-a: šanû “to pour waters out over,” “to flood” and naqāru

they defended their cities against attack, and through decrees of social reform and covenants with their servant the human king that he would not deliver up the orphan and the widow

ša āli "to devastate a town by flooding" (see Deimel, ŠL 579.287). The enigmatic nīg-d u₇-e "the proper thing," which is a major concern in the early parts of Cylinder A, was finally successfully produced by Gudea in Cyl. A xxiii.26. The passage shows that "the proper thing" refers to the brick to be used for building the temple, Eninnu. This designation of the brick as the "proper," "befitting" thing can hardly apply otherwise than to a magical affinity with, a "participation" in, the particular essence of the temple and the god, for to know the innermost core of "the proper thing" (ša-bi "its heart" viii.22 referring back to nīg-d u₇-e viii.20) is tantamount for Gudea to knowing the innermost core of the god's being (ša...-zu "your heart,..." viii.23 resumed by ša-zu ix.1 and ša...-zu ix.2). Only thus, moreover, will Ningirsuk's answer to Gudea (Cyl. A. ix.7-xii.11) make sense at all, for it consists precisely in the requested authoritative statement of his own nature and the nature of his temples, among them Eninnu. That the brick in fact participated in the essence of Eninnu—and of Ningirsuk—is also signaled by the fact that Gudea stamped it (A. xiii.21-22) with the image of Imdugud, emblem and older form of Ningirsuk himself. The identity of Eninnu with Ningirsuk was specifically revealed in Ningirsuk's answer (Cyl. A. xi.1-4).

II. B. "Energy." Essential in the new concept of the ruler as it developed was, furthermore, unique and unprecedented power to act. The ruler embodied in his person the initiative of the community, he was the will energizing and directing it in concerted action. Because of this essential element of energy and action the new ruler-concept was able as a religious metaphor to evoke also the element of "energy" in the numinous, and thus to broaden and deepen further the religious understanding. As we have already mentioned (see above note 3 section (5)) the awareness of the element of "energy," of active transitive character of the divine is, when it goes beyond the particular natural phenomenon with which a god is associated, always connected with and expressed under a politicomorph form borrowed from the human ruler-image in one or other of its aspects. In the application of the metaphor of the ruler to the divine a degree of dynamic tension between metaphoric and everyday reference can hardly have been avoided and hopes for divine help must almost unavoidably have taken direction and color from what was expected of the human ruler: protection against external foes, justice and security within the community.

III. Context. For the sake of clarity we have spoken here of the new concept of the ruler as if it were a constant that could be isolated. Actually this is an oversimplification. The concept of the ruler that proved such a powerful metaphor for the numinous was a concept in the process of evolving in fusion of the types of the "lord" e n, manager with magic powers to make things thrive under his hand, and "king," l u g a l, originally the young leader in war and righter of wrongs internally. Nor was it ever applied in isolation, always in and with the whole political matrix in which it was imbedded. The ruler-metaphor is indissoluble from a total view of existence, of the cosmos as a state in which the gods form the politically active ruling

to the powerful man,²¹ they maintained justice and righteousness.²² Meeting as needed in assembly at Nippur the gods deliberated on human

aristocracy. Human allegiance to the numinous and dependence on it is thus guided into channels parallel to those developed for dependence in human society and comes to be understood very largely in similar terms.

IV. *Point of Growth.* As the point of growth of this whole development we may with some plausibility posit the ritual drama of the older periods such as, e.g., the sacred marriage rite of the Dumuzid cult and perhaps the rites of lament of the Damu cult. In these ritual dramas—as we know directly from later texts and by inference from early representations such as that on the Uruk Vase—the leader of the human community the "lord" (e n) became the embodiment of the god, was him and acted as him. Here accordingly, was a theophany in which the numinous was encountered not only in human form but in a human form socially defined and recognizable, that of "lord" (e n) and leader of the community generally. The appropriateness of the form of the ruler as a form for the divine, occurring as it did in a dramatically pregnant, recurrent, central and authoritative theophany, could therefore hardly have been questioned. As the form itself around the turn of the third millennium developed a new content of majesty and energy allowing more full and profound understanding of the numinous, and as human attention focussed ever more on hopes for protection and justice which it and the institutions for collective security in which it was embedded held out, the road to the development we have suggested above was open.

²¹ The divine initiative responsible for Urukagina's reforms is stated as follows in Cone B+C vii.29-viii.13: u₄ 4Nin-ġīr-su ur-saġ 4En-líl-lá-ke, Uru-ka-ge-na-ra nam-lugal Lagaš^{ak} e-na-sum-ma-a šā-lú-36000-ta šu-ni e-ma-ta-da-na-ba-a nam-tar-ra u₄-bi-ta e-šē-ġar inim lugal-ni 4Nin-ġīr-su-ke, e-na-d u₁₁-ga ba-da-b₃ "When Ningirsuk, the warrior of Enlil, had given to Urukagina the kingship of Lagash and his hand had picked him out from among 36,000 men he set aside the former laws (decrees). The command which his master Ningirsuk gave him he grasped. . . ." Cf. ZA 52: 102 note 13.

The covenant protecting orphans and widows is mentioned in Cone B+C xii.24-28 nu-sīg nu-ma-su lú-á-tuku nu-na-ġā-ġā-a 4Nin-ġīr-su-da Uru-ka-ge-na-ke, inim-bi KA e-da-kēš "That he deliver not up the orphan and the widow to the powerful man, this covenant Urukagina made with Ningirsuk."

²² An interesting aspect of the function of the gods as upholders of law and order is the possibility of seeking legal redress against demons causing disease and other evils which it opened up. The form of the lawsuit in which the god Enkik (Ea), god of the cleansing power of water, undertakes the responsibility for execution of the judgment and sends his messenger (the incantation priest) with the human plaintiff to the lawcourt of the divine judge Utu (Šamas), the Sun-god, who hears the complaint and gives judgment in an assembly of gods is a common form in incantations. A following lustration ritual represented Enkik's execution of the judgment. Particularly striking is the use of this form in the bit rinki ritual (see J. Læssøe, *Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bit*

affairs and shaped history.²³ Against the decisions of this assembly no single god could prevail and so—for all the relative security the rule of one's own citygod could provide—basically fear could not be stilled.

We have the lament of the goddess of Ur, Ningal, when the divine assembly had decreed that Ur should be destroyed:²⁴

rimki, (Copenhagen, 1955), esp. pp. 86–89) where the formal presentation of the case to the divine judge is designated by the term *ki*: “U t u - k a m “Being at the place of the Sun-god” and has reference to the fact that the lawsuit ritual was performed before the sun at sunrise. The earliest references to this ritual are, as far as we know, mentions in the economic texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur (see Schneider, “Die Götternamen von Ur III,” *Analecta Orientalia* 19 (Rome, 1939): p. 41–42 no. 41, section 5). In general see *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* p. 206–207.

²³ For details of the form which application of the ruler metaphor to the divine took in Mesopotamia and the politicomorph understanding of the cosmos in terms of a state in which it is imbedded see *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, Chapter V: “Mesopotamia: The Cosmos as a State,” pp. 125–201 and cf. “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia” *JNES* 2 (1943): 159–172; “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia” *ZA* 52: 99–120, “Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion.” *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (1961), pp. 274–277.

²⁴ S. N. Kramer, “Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur” (*AS* 12 (1940)) p. 26 and 28 lines 99–112. For translations see Kramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 and 29, our translation in *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), pp. 196–197, Kramer in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (1950), p. 457 Falkenstein, *Sumerisch Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (1953) and cf. Witzel, *Orientalia* n.s. 14 and 15 (1945): 185–234 and 15 (1946): 46–63. The translation here given is that of *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. The following comments may be offered: *Line* 99. The translation assumes anticipatory genitive construction with loss of the genitive mark as frequent in later texts. An alternative interpretation is as conjunctive parataxis: “dread of the storm and its floodlike destruction.” *h a - m a - l á - l á* means literally “was verily tied and tied to me.” The translation has in view the frequent use of this verb for tying on of burdens but connotations of inability to get rid of something: “cleaved to me,” “haunted me” are also possible. *Line* 100. *u₄ [TUR] - b i - š è* is restored on the basis of line 101. It seems to mean “in the manner of (- š è) the fewest days” (see for the adverbializing force of - š è Poebel *GSG* §389 and cf. §394–395). Besides the meaning “of a sudden” also “shortly,” “soon” might be considered. *ki - n á - m i - ù - n a - m á* means literally “on my couch of night.” *LUL* denotes “false,” “illusory.” The translation assumes that it here refers to dream-phantasies. Better is, perhaps, a reading *lib*, Accadian *kūru* (k-r-) cf. Arabic *karija* “to slumber” which seems to denote a state of losing consciousness as in dozing off or in being completely dazed by grief. In *igi-lib*: *dalāpu* “to be sleepless,” “to be awake at night” the basic connotation is probably that of weariness of the eyes, drowsiness. *Line* 101

Dread of the storm's floodlike destruction weighed on me

And of a sudden on my couch at night,
Upon my couch at night no dreams were granted me,
And of a sudden on my couch oblivion,
Upon my couch oblivion, was not granted.

Because (this) bitter weeping had been destined for my land

And I could not, even if I scoured the earth—a cow seeking her calf—

Have brought my people back,

Because (this) bitter sorrow had been destined for my city,

Even if I, birdlike, had stretched my wings

And, like a bird, flown to my city,

Yet my city would have been destroyed on its foundation

Yet Ur would have perished where it lay.

Because that day of storm had raised its hand

And even had I screamed out loud and cried

‘Turn back, O day of storm, (turn) to (thy) desert’
The breast of that storm would not have been lifted from me.

giš-l[á-a-bi] nu-ši-in-ga-ma-ni-ib-túm
“and (-n-ga-) its (i.e., the couch's tranquility) was not brought me thereon.” The translation given above assumes that the tranquility (*giš-lá: qálū*, “deep quiet of the night”) of the couch has reference to sound dreamless sleep, oblivion, and that the prefix *nuš-*, which is rendered *lu-ma-an AN-TA* and *ú-ul AN-TA* in *MSL* 6: p. 149.15–16 is here used in the second of these senses, as simple negation. A possible variant translation might be: “And of a sudden on my couch that (-bi) night-stillness (*mu-u-s-lá-a*), on my couch that night-stillness, could it but (*nu-š*) also (-n-ga-) have been transmitted (lit. ‘brought’ ‘conveyed’) to me there.” *Line* 102. *ba-ma-a-l-la-ke₄-eš* lit. “because . . . was established for it.” For *gál/mal*: *šakānu* see Deimel *ŠL* 80.22 and 342.860. *Lines* 103–104. The translation of these lines is uncertain, “scoured the earth” for *ki šu--ag* was a guess from the context and the deletion of *n f(?)* in line 104 may be too audacious. A better rendering, but also not certain, is perhaps: “even had I—as a cow the calf—tried to help it on the ground (*ki-e*) I could not have retrieved my land from the mire (*imi(.ta)* *imi* is wet clay, mire, for the loss of -ta, cf. *GSG* §363). For *šu--ag*: *a-za-ru* “to take pity on,” “to help,” see Deimel *ŠL* 354.165 and von Soden *AHW* sub voce *azāru*. The underlying image would then be that of a cow (the goddess) trying to help its calf (her land) as it sinks deeper and deeper down in wet sticky clay. *Line* 105. *du-lum* would seem to be a loan from Accadian *dullum*. *Line* 106. Literally: “even if like a bird of heaven I had beat my wings in the direction toward it.” *Line* 108. *hé-e-n-ga-mu-da(!)-gu-l* literally: “would surely also/ yet have been destroyed for (lit. ‘from with’) me.” *Line* 110. For *an-ta--gál*: *našū, šaqū*, see Deimel *ŠL* 13.63 and note the cone of Entemena vi.24–25 *šu-ma-h-gir-ma-h-ni-an-ta hé-ḡá-ḡá* “may he (i.e., Ningirsuk) raise his exalted hand and exalted foot” (and after he has made the people of this city ferocious toward him may he crush him in the midst of this city). The form *ḡá-ḡá* is reduplicated present (*GSG* §446c) of *gál* with the characteristic reduction.

The imagery in the laments of the times show how real, how often and how matter-of-factly experienced, such disasters were.²⁵

(Dead) men, not potsherds,
Covered the approaches.
The walls were gaping,
The high gates, the roads,
Were piled with dead.
In the wide streets, where feasting crowds would
gather,
Scattered they lay.
In all the streets and roadways bodies lay
In open fields that used to fill with dancers
They lay in heaps
.....
The country's blood now filled its holes
like metal in a mould
Bodies dissolved—like fat left in the sun.

THE SECOND MILLENNIUM:²⁶ GUILT

In our sources for religion in the fourth and third millennia B.C. just considered the individual seems almost totally immersed in his community as part of which he suffers and rejoices. But with the beginning second millennium the personal fortunes of the individual worshiper, his fears of personal misfortune,

anxieties in illness and suffering, begin to be voiced; and the fear that may torture individual existence takes its place with the earlier central, conditioning fears, adding a personal dimension to the relation with the divine.

The new development has its beginnings in the concept of the "personal god,"²⁷ originally a personification of a man's "luck" and ability to effective thinking and acting, but very early identified with some known figure of the pantheon, usually a minor deity, who took a specially paternal interest in this particular man and his fortunes. In texts from the beginning of the second millennium, such as the Sumerian composition "Man and his God" treated by Dr. Kramer,²⁸ the emphasis is still very largely on the basic element of individual effectiveness. The man complains that what he knows does not come out right, what he says quite truthfully turns out to be false, he does things in all innocence and finds that he has been duped into committing wrong.²⁹ His god—his powers of clear and fast thinking—is not there to suggest an answer when friends deceive or impute falsehood to him, or when evil-doers abuse him,³⁰ his

²⁵ Kramer, "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur," *AS 12* (1940): 38 and 40, lines 211–218. Translations in the works cited in note 21. The translation here given is that of *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 142. The following comments may be in order: *Line 211.* The rendering seeks to convey the essentials of meaning clearly. Literally the line reads *un-bi sika-kud-da-nu-me-a bar-ba ba-e-si* "its (i.e., Ur's) people who are not potsherds filled its outsides." See *AJS 58* (1941): 223. For the 3n. locative -e- of *ba-e-si* resuming -a- of *bar-b(i)a* see *ZA 52* p. 101 note 11 end. *Line 212.* "The walls were gaping" literally "in its wall breeches (ŠL 106.173) had been made," cf. *AJS 58*: 224. *Line 213.* Literally: "In its exalted gates and roads (*ĝir-ĝál-la*: *daraggu* ŠL 444.37) bodies were piled." *Line 214.* *siladagal-ezem-ma* (var. -*gim*)-*dù-a-ba* "in its broad streets filled on (var. 'like') the festivals" For *dù*: *malú*, see ŠL 230.21 *Line 215.* "lay" more precisely "were piled" *Line 216.* Literally: "in its places where the dances of the land were (i.e., 'took place')." *Line 217.* "like metal" literally "like copper and tin." The words "in a mould" are added for clarity. *u-mu-un-kala-m-ma-ke₄* seems to demand a transitive verb so *ba-ĝar-ĝar* represents perhaps *ĝar: rahašu* "to flood," ŠL 597.38. The variant *ba-ni-in-túm-eš* may be interpreted as "(crevices/holes) guided (*túm: warú*) the blood of the land (-e locative, governed by *túm*)." *Line 218.* "Bodies" more precisely *a₄* (LU \times BAD MSL II 626)-*bi* "its bodies" i.e. the dead bodies from which the blood had come. *u-zu-i-u-du* is specifically "sheep-fat." For *u₄-da*: *šétu* "in the sun" see *CAD 16* p. 150 ff.

²⁶ I.e., Isin-Larsa, Old Babylonian and Cassite periods.

²⁷ For the concept of the personal god see *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* p. 203–207 and cf. "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," p. 270.

²⁸ S. N. Kramer, "Man and his God." Supplement to *Vetus Testamentum* edited by the board of the quarterly (Leiden, 1955), p. 170–182.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 26–30 (26) *guruš-me-en zu-me-en* [*níĝ*]-*zu-mu-si nu-mu-da-sá-e* (27) *zi-du₁₁-ga-mu-lul-šè-i-kur₆* (28) *lú-lul-la-ke₄* *u* (GÁL)-*lu mu-un-dul šu-kin mu-un-na-dib* (29) *á-nu-zu-mu ma-ra-pe-lá-en* (30) *du-lum-ma-ki-bíl-bíl-la-bi saĝ-e-eš mu-e-riĝ* "I am a young man, I am knowledgeable, but what I know does not come out right with me, (27) what I truthfully say turns into a falsehood, (28) the wrong-doer hoodwinks me (lit. 'covers me with a cloud'), I (innocently) lay hold of the handle of the sickle for him (i.e. 'do his dirty work for him'), (29) my arm all unknowingly sullies me in your eyes (lit. 'for you') (30) and you bestow on me the most burning of sorrows"

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, lines 35–39: (35) *du₁₀-sa-mu inim-[ge]-[na]-[na]* *ma-ab-bé* (36) *ku-li-mu inim-zi-du₁₁-ga-mu-[uš]* (var. om. -*uš*) *lul* (var. *lul-kam*) *ma-ši-ĝá-ĝá* (37) *lú-lul-e* (var. *lú-lul-la-ke₄*) *inim-ur mu-un-du₁₁* (38) *dingir-mu nu-mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄-in* (39) *umuš-mu ba-an-ta-túm-un* "my friend speaks to me words not reliable" (for the suffix -*na*, cf. RA XI, 155.15: *níĝ-si-si-ki-da-na*: *šá la um-daš-šá-lu*), (36) my companion imputes falseness (var. direct quotation: 'It is of falseness!') For the predicative use of the genitive cf. Poebel *JAO 58* (1938): 148–150) to words I truthfully speak, (37) the liar (var. 'the wrong-doer') speaks upsetting words to me (38) but you, my god, do

god has abandoned him and lost interest in him.³¹ He realizes that the blame lies with himself—pleading, however, that no man is perfect³²—and asks to be shown his faults, his transgressions, that he may confess them before his god and be forgiven.³³ And the god is moved by his contrition and takes him back into favor. There is here the beginnings of a searching of the heart: the insight gained in the preceding millennium that the divine stands for, and upholds, a moral law is now bearing fruit in a realization of individual human responsibility, but also of innate human inability to live up to that responsibility. In his plight—estranged from his personal god—the penitent may have to seek intercession by higher deities. In an Old Babylonian lamentation to the goddess Ishtar the condition of the penitent sinner is described:³⁴

not answer them back (for the common contraction of third person dative infix -ne-a- to -na-, cf., e.g., Sollberger, Corpus, Ent. 45-73 mu-ne-dù, var. mu-na-dù; mu-na-du₁₁ var. mu-ne-du₁₁ and Descent of Inannak lines 264 and 265 mu-na-ba-e-NE "they (tried to) give to them" etc. etc.) (39) you take away my wits."

³¹ *Op. cit.*, line 98: en-na-me-[šè] en-mu-nu-tar-re-en ki-mu nu-kin-[k]in-en "How long will you not ask for me, not seek out where I am (lit. 'my place')."

³² *Op. cit.*, 101-103: (101) mi-ni-ib-bé-NE šul-gal-an-zu-NE inim-zi-si(?) -sá(?) (102) u-na-me dumu-nam-tag-nu-tuku ama-an-inu-tu-ud (103) kúš-la-ba-sá-erín-nam-tag-nu-tuku ul-ta nu-gál-la-àm "(101) men greatly experienced say a word true and right: (102) 'The child without faults, not ever did its mother give birth to it!' (103) the toiler attains it not, a worker without fault never was from oldest time."

³³ *Op. cit.*, lines 111-113: (111) dingir-mu... nam-tag-mu igi-mu ù-mi-zu (112) ká-unkin(?) -ka ha-lam-ma-bi dili-bad-bi ga-am-du₁₁ (113) guruš-me-en KA-TAR nam-tag-mu igi-zu-šè ga-si-il "(111) O my God . . . when you have let my eyes recognize my faults (112) in the gate of the assembly (?) those of them that have been forgotten and those of them that are (still) mentioned I shall tell (113) I young man shall publicly declare my faults before you."

³⁴ PBS I. 1 no. 2 ii.35'-40': (35) Eš-₄-lár [m]a-a[n]-nu-um e-la-ki ur-ha-š[u] ú-pe-et-te] še-em-me-e-ma te-es-li-ta-šu [. . .] (36) i-ni-ih-ki-im-ma aš-ra-ki i-š[e-i] warad(?) -ki i-gu-ú ri-ši-šum re-[e-ma-am] (37) ik-nu-uš-ma ir-gu-um ul(!?) -ni-in-n[a-ak-ki-im] a-na gi-il-la-at i-pu-šu i-ša-á[s-si] š[ig]-ga-a-am] (38) i-ma-an-nu ma-la-iš dum-qa-at Eš-₄-lár] ša ha-as-su ù im-šu-ú i-uš(?) [. . .] (39) ik-ti mīm-ma-ma al-ka-ta-šu i-p[a-aš-ša-ar] (40) in-hu i-na-hu ú-ša-an-n[a-a] ú-gal-ù-mi gi-il-la(!?) -[at e-pu-šu] Eš-₄-lár ú-dam-mi-qá-am a-b[ak]-ki š[ar](!?) -pí-iš] (41) ú-ul ak-ku-ud Eš-₄-tár . . . etc.

Ishtar, who but you can clear a path for him?
Hear his entreaties!
He has turned to you and seeks you,
Your servant who has sinned, have mercy on him!
He has bowed down and loudly implored you,
For the wrongs he committed he shouts a psalm of penance,
In full he counts up the benefactions of Ishtar,
What he remembers—and what he had forgotten

He has sinned, all his conduct he lays open,
The weariness with which he wearied himself he recounts:

"I have done wrong!—The wrongs I committed
Ishtar has made good for me, I weep ardently!
I had no qualms, Ishtar"

and so on.

As the second millennium further explored the question of man's acceptability before his god the problem of the righteous sufferer led on to realization of man's finiteness and the all-together finite character of his insights and his moral judgments:³⁵

What seems good to one's self, is a crime before the god,
What to one's heart seems bad, is good before one's god.
Who may comprehend the minds of gods in heaven's depth
The thoughts of (those) divine deep waters, who could fathom them?
How could mankind, beclouded, comprehend the ways of gods?

In this realization that all human values are finite—and that yet man is held responsible to absolutes beyond him, Mesopotamian religious thought reaches perhaps its finest insights.³⁶

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

We have considered, thus, three millennia and seen how the human prayer slowly grew from "give us this day our daily bread" to "preserve us from evil" and—lastly—"forgive us our trespasses." There is left the first millennium B.C. in which Mesopotamian civilization drew toward a close without producing any

³⁵ *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom* (Oxford, 1960), p. 40, lines 34-38. The translation here given is with a few changes that of *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, p. 215.

³⁶ See generally *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. The Good Life, p. 202-219, W. von Soden, "Religion und Sittlichkeit nach den Anschauungen der Babylonier," ZDMG 89 (1935), Kraus, "Altes Mesopotamisches Lebensgefühl," JNES 19 (1960): p. 117-132, Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 1-20.

major new religious directions. The new beginnings were elsewhere, in Israel and in Greece who jointly were to become the fountainheads of Western Civilization. Yet in the case of Israel the new beginnings were not in all respects new; Israel came into being in a millennium when the concept of a moral universe had been achieved and when men could enter into a covenant of social justice with God as acting in

History under which to live collectively and individually in moral responsibility. And one need only leaf through the books of the Old Testament to see—and see in detail—how major themes and modes of approach directly continue Mesopotamian themes and approaches—but with a new freshness and with a deeper profundity. Israel is heir—and a worthy heir—to preceding millennia.

CUNEIFORM STUDIES AND THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE: THE SUMERIAN SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Pritchard, James B., editor (Princeton, 2nd. edition, 1955).
AS 12	Kramer, S. N. <i>Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur</i> (Chicago, 1940).
BE XXX	Radau, Hugo. <i>Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Dumuzi</i> (München, 1913).
Bi Or	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalia</i> (Leiden, 1943).
CBS	University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number).

CT XLII	Figulla, H. H., <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> (London, 1959).
HBS	Kramer, S. N. <i>History Begins at Sumer</i> (New York, 1959).
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> (New Haven, 1947-).
MAW	<i>Mythologies of the Ancient World</i> , Kramer, S. N., editor (New York, 1961).
N	University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number).
Ni	Museum of the Ancient Orient (Istanbul), Nippur Collection (followed by number).
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin and Leipzig, 1898-).
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> (Philadelphia, 1838-).
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i> (Paris, 1884-).
SAHG	Falkenstein, Adam and Von Soden, Wolfram. <i>Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete</i> (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1953).
SHCC	Kramer, S. N. <i>The Sumerians</i> (Chicago, 1963).
SEM	Chiera, Edward. <i>Sumerian Epics and Myths</i> (Chicago, 1934).
SLTN	Kramer, S. N. <i>Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient</i> (Philadelphia, 1944).
SSA	Van Dijk, J. J. A. <i>La Sagesse suméro-accadienne</i> (Leiden, 1953).
TC II	Van Dijk, J. J. A. <i>Tabulae Cuneiforme a F.M. Th. de Liagre Böhl</i> (Leiden, 1957).
TMH N.F. III	Bernhardt, Inez and Kramer, S. N. <i>Sumerische Literarische Texte aus Nippur</i> (Berlin, 1961).
TRS	Genouillac, Henri de. <i>Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre</i> (Paris, 1930).
UET VI	Gadd, C. J. and Kramer, S. N. <i>Literary Texts from Ur</i> (in press).
UM	University Museum, Catalogue of the Babylonian Section (followed by number).
3NT	Joint Expedition to Nippur of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Third Season (1951-1952). Registry of clay tablets.

SUMERIAN LITERATURE AND THE
LITERATURE OF THE
ANCIENT WORLD

TO JUDGE from the available information, about half a million cuneiform documents varying considerably in shape, size, and state of preservation, have been excavated in the Near East, and are scattered throughout the museums and collections the world over. Of this vast number, probably less than two per cent or less than ten thousand tablets and fragments are inscribed with belles-lettres, such as myths, epic tales, hymns, prayers, laments, and "wisdom" compositions. The great majority of these are written in the Sumerian and Akkadian languages; the remainder are in Hittite and Ugaritic (Canaanite), and very rarely in such other languages as Hattic, Hurrian, Luvian, and Palaic.¹ Except for the Sumerian documents, almost all these literary works have been published and translated, and their significance for the history of literature, and particularly for Biblical and Greek literature, has been pointed out and evaluated by a number of scholars over the years.² This paper will therefore confine itself primarily to the Sumerian compositions and their impress on the literary works of the Hebrews and the Greeks.

As of today there are about 5,000 Sumerian literary tablets and fragments scattered throughout the museums the world over. About a third of these have now been published; most of the remainder are available at the University Museum in the form of originals, copies, photographs, and casts. Practically all these tablets date from the eighteenth century B.C., although there is good reason to assume that not a few of the compositions inscribed on them were composed several centuries earlier. Actually the Sumerians first began to write down their literary works some time about 2,500 B.C. although the

earliest as yet discovered date from about a century or so later. By the end of the third millennium their literary output must have been prolific, but no doubt owing to archaeological accident relatively few literary products from this highly creative period, have as yet come to light. The vast majority of the excavated Sumerian literary tablets date from the first half of the second millennium B.C. when the Semitic Amorites were infiltrating the land, and when Sumerian was gradually replaced by Akkadian as the spoken language of the land. It was throughout this, the so-called First Post-Sumerian Period, that the earlier literary works were studied, copied, and redacted; in fact the presumably Akkadian speaking teachers, poets, and scribes of these post-Sumerian days even created new Sumerian literary works, although by and large these followed closely their earlier prototypes.

Sumerian literature, in the restricted sense of belles-lettres, consists of myths and epic tales, hymns and lamentations, "historiography" and "wisdom." The large majority of the Sumerian literary works are written in poetic form. The use of meter and rhyme was entirely unknown but practically all other poetic devices and techniques were utilized with skill, imagination, and effect: repetition and parallelism, metaphor and simile, chorus and refrain.

As of today, there have been recovered wholly, or in large part, twenty Sumerian myths; these are concerned primarily with the creation and organization of the universe; the birth of the gods, and their deeds and misdeeds; the creation of man; the sending of the flood against man; the mysteries of death and the Nether World. There are now restorable, wholly or in part, nine Sumerian epic tales, revolving about the three Sumerian heroes who lived early in the third millennium B.C.: Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh. One of the most carefully cultivated literary arts in Sumer was hymnography. Scores of hymns to gods, kings, and temples have been recovered to date, and there is every reason to believe that this is only a fraction of the hymns current in ancient Sumer. There are a series of lamentations and historiographic documents concerned with the destruction of such famous cities as Ur, Nippur, and Agade. Finally—and this has only become clarified in the last decade or so—the Sumerians had a large and diversified group of wisdom compositions: debates, essays, and collections of precepts and proverbs contain-

¹ For a more detailed account of the nature, content, and provenience of the extant cuneiform documents, cf. S. N. Kramer, "Cultural Anthropology and the Cuneiform Documents," *Ethnology* 1 (1962): 299-314.

² For a representative collection of the cuneiform documents as a whole, cf. *ANET*; the "Index of Biblical References" at the end of the book (pages 520-523) is a valuable indicator of the possible and probable interconnections between Biblical and cuneiform literature. For the impress of cuneiform literature on the Greek and Aegean world, cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology" (chapter 3 of *MAW*); T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (2nd ed., New York, 1961); J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley, 1959); C. H. Gordon, *Before the Bible* (New York, 1962).

ing hundreds of maxims, sayings, apothegms, and even Aesop-like fables.³

Sumerian literature, it is generally agreed, has left a deep impress on the literary products of the entire ancient Near East, especially since at one time or another practically all the peoples of Western Asia—Akkadians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Hittites, Hurrians, Canaanites, and Elamites, to name only those for which positive and direct evidence is available at the moment—had found it to their interest to borrow the cuneiform script in order to inscribe their own records and writings. For the adoption and adaptation of this syllabic and logographic system of writing; which had been developed by the Sumerians to write their own agglutinative and largely monosyllabic tongue, demanded a thorough training in the Sumerian language and literature. To this end, no doubt, learned scribes and teachers were imported from Sumer to the schools of the neighboring lands, while the native scribes traveled to Sumer for special instruction in its more famous academies. All of which resulted in the wide spread of Sumerian culture and literature. The ideas and ideals of the Sumerians—their cosmology, theology, ethics, and system of education—permeated to a greater or lesser extent the thoughts and writings of all the peoples of the ancient Near East including Palestine. So too, did the Sumerian literary forms and themes—their plots, motifs, stylistic devices, and aesthetic techniques. And since, as is becoming ever more apparent, the interconnections between Ancient Mesopotamia, Palestine, and the Aegean world were manifold and far-reaching, it is not unlikely, *a priori*, that traces of Sumerian influence may be found even in the literatures of the ancient Greeks and Hebrews.

To be sure, even the earliest Greek and Hebrew literary works were not written down in their present form earlier than the eighth century B.C., while most of the Sumerian literary documents were composed about 2000 B.C., or not long thereafter. There is therefore, no question of any contemporary borrowing from the Sumerian literary sources. Sumerian influence penetrated the Greek and Hebrew world through the Canaanite, Hittite, and Akkadian literature. Par-

ticularly through the latter, since it is well known, that in the second millennium B.C. the Akkadian language was the *lingua franca* of practically the entire literary world. Akkadian literary works must therefore have been quite familiar to men of letters, even in the Palestinian and Aegean world.⁴ But not a few of these Akkadian literary works went back to Sumerian prototypes, remodeled and transformed over the centuries.

Be that as it may, the fact is that we can now point out a considerable number of parallels between the Sumerian and Greek literary remains. First, the myths. A number of striking similarities between some of the Greek mythological motifs and those found in the Mesopotamian world going back to Sumerian sources are now generally recognized by classicists as well as Orientalists: the creation of the universe, the birth of the gods, the wise and invaluable culture hero, the slaying of the dragon, theomachy, stories of a "Flood," plagues as divine punishment, the dismal, dreary Nether World with its uninviting river and ferryman—all these mythological themes and motifs will be found in both the Sumerian and the Greek literatures.

Turning to epic poetry, it is a fact that as early as 1932, the eminent English scholar, H. Munro Chadwick, had already noted in his monumental three-volume work *Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1932-1940), that in view of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh it is not unlikely that Mesopotamia was the cradle of the written epic. Since that time, however, there have been identified a number of Sumerian epic tales, which can be recognized as forerunners of the Akkadian Gilgamesh epic. These Sumerian epic tales have a good deal in common with Greek epic poetry: they are concerned with the deeds and exploits of individuals rather than with the state and its fate; their plot is based on a kernel of historical truth although the poet does not hesitate to introduce unhistorical motifs and conventions such as exaggerated notions of the hero's power, ominous dreams, and the presence of divine beings; stylistically both Sumerian and Greek epic poetry are fond of the static epithet, lengthy repetitions, speeches between characters, and detailed leisurely descriptions.⁵ In fact the

³ For a more detailed account of the nature and contents of the Sumerian literary works, cf. S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature: A General Survey," Chapter 9 of *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (New York, 1961).

⁴ Cf. especially the most recent inscriptional discoveries in Ugarit as reported by J. Nougayrol, "Nouveaux Textes Accadiens de Ras-Shamra," *Académies des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus* 1960: 163-171.

⁵ Cf. note 2 for bibliographical references.

resemblances between Greek and Sumerian epic poetry are so striking that it seemed not unreasonable to conclude that the Sumerians, not unlike the Greeks, underwent what is commonly known as a "Heroic Age" era in the course of their conquest of the land which later came to be known as Sumer.⁶

On the other hand there is little likelihood that the Greeks had developed anything like the vast and highly sophisticated hymnal literature of the Sumerians since the temple and its liturgy no doubt played a much larger role in Sumerian than in Greek life. So, too, the lamentation compositions bewailing the destruction of Sumer and its cities, that were high favorites in the Mesopotamian cults and have left their traces in Biblical literature, seem to have no counterparts in Greek literature. The Greek dirge or elegy, however, has its counterpart in two Sumerian compositions on a Pushkin Museum tablet, only recently translated, in which a certain Ludingirra bemoans in hyperbolic terms the death of his father and of his wife.⁷

Finally there is the Sumerian "wisdom" literature consisting of essays, proverbs, fables, and riddles, precepts and instructions, and a remarkable group of disputations and dialogues which were practically unknown even to the scholarly world until recent days, and which my young Spanish colleague M. Civil, formerly a Research Associate in the Near Eastern Section of the University Museum, is now piecing together from hundreds of tablets and fragments in our museum and abroad, and preparing for publication.⁸ A number of Sumerian parallels to the Aesopic fables have become known in recent years as a result of the researches of another young colleague Edmund Gordon on Sumerian proverbs and fables.⁹ A noteworthy example of literary parallelism is the so-called Sumerian "Farmer's Almanac"¹⁰ in which a farmer instructs his son concerning all the more important chores and labors which must be performed

during the year in order to ensure a successful crop, and which is reminiscent to no little extent of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. But the Sumerian "wisdom" compositions which I wish to stress before you today are the disputations and dialogues, eleven in number, a variorum edition of which M. Civil is now preparing. For they are the forerunners and prototypes of similar literary compositions current all over the ancient world as far as India¹¹ on the east and probably Greece on the west, and unless I am very much mistaken they provided the literary and stylistic framework for even such profound philosophic works as Plato's *Dialogues*. I had indeed long suspected that this might be the case, but until very recently I was loath to say so in print because only the *disputation* compositions were known, and these consisted of debates between such personified entities as Cattle and Grain, Bird and Fish, Summer and Winter, Tree and Reed, Silver and Copper, Pickaxe and Plow. At long last, however, we have at our disposal five disputations and dialogues between humans, and two of the compositions actually furnish the names of the rival debaters. Interestingly enough, in at least three of the compositions the individuals involved are schoolmen, "academicians," as it were, since they are described as graduates of the *Edubba*, or "Tablet House," the Sumerian prototype of all ancient Near Eastern schools and academies. To be sure it is a far cry from the rather trivial, puerile, superficial and self-centered debates of these Sumerian schoolmen to the profound, soul-searching Socratic dialogues. But even the mightiest oak from the lowly acorn doth grow, and since the Sumerian disputation-dialogue genre was copied and imitated all over the ancient world, it seems not unlikely that it was known even to the Hellenic men of letters who transformed it by their Greek genius into the remarkable dialectic philosophic vehicle which has molded the thought of the Western man for over two thousand years.

Turning from Greek literature to Hebrew, the Sumerian impress on the Bible has been treated by me several years ago in considerable detail in an article published in *Analecta Biblica*,¹² entitled "Sumerian Literature and the Bible"; these parallels include such literary themes and motifs as: (1) creation of the universe; (2) creation of

⁶ Cf. S. N. Kramer, "Heroes of Sumer," *PAPS* 90, 2 (1946): 120-130.

⁷ Cf. Kramer, *Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet* (Moscow, 1960); in English with a Russian translation.

⁸ It will take several years before the book is actually published; for the present, cf. S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature, A General Survey" (see note 3), and chapter 5 of *SHCC*; and E. I. Gordon, "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad," *Bi Or* 17 (1960): 122-152.

⁹ For bibliographical details, cf. pages 138-139 of Gordon's article cited in the preceding note.

¹⁰ Cf. for the present *SHCC* pp. 103-107 and pp. 340-342.

¹¹ Cf. for the present J. de Menosce, "Sumero-Iranica," *EA* 1957: 145-146.

¹² *Analecta Biblica* 12 (Rome, 1959): pp. 185-204.

man; (3) creation techniques; (4) Paradise; (5) the Flood; (6) the "Cain-Abel" motif; (7) the dispersion of mankind; (8) the earth and its organization; (9) personal god; (10) divine retribution and national catastrophe; (11) punishment by plague; (12) suffering and submission; (13) death and the Nether World. As pointed out in that article, this list only skims the cream and scratches the surface; in the coming years, as more and more of the Sumerian literary documents are made available, the number of Sumerian parallels to the Bible will grow and multiply, particularly for such books as Psalms, Proverbs, Lamentations, and Song of Songs. Thus just last year a book was published by a Biblical scholar which treated only one psalm, Psalm 51, in which innumerable points of contact between it and Sumero-Akkadian literature were identified and analyzed.¹³ In this paper, however, I should like to treat only the Sumerian parallels to Solomon's "Song of Songs," also known as "Canticles." This book, that is like no other book in the Old Testament, is not concerned with the history of the Hebrew people and contains no revealing prophecies or inspiring preachments—in fact it seems to be nothing more than a loosely organized collection of sensuous love-songs devoid of any religious, theological, moralistic, or didactic motivation. No wonder that there was considerable debate among the early Rabbis about the propriety of including it in the Biblical canon altogether, although once included it came to be looked upon as one of the most inspiring books in the Old Testament, since it was interpreted allegorically by both Jews and Christians with Jahweh or Christ in the role of the lover, and the Hebrew people or the Church in the role of the bride.¹⁴

Modern scholarship, however, cannot accept this whimsical and fanciful allegorical interpretation, attractive and inspiring as it may be. To judge from what we now know of the history and culture of the Ancient Near East, there is good reason to conclude that at least some of the passionate and rhapsodic love songs of which

the book is composed, are cultic in origin, and were sung in the course of the hieros gamos, or "sacred marriage," between a king and votary of Astarte, the Canaanite goddess of love and procreation whom even so wise a Hebrew king as the great Solomon, worshiped and adored, according to I Kings 11:5. But as more than one scholar has surmised,¹⁵ this Canaanite rite itself has Mesopotamian roots; it goes back to the Tammuz-Ishtar cult, which in turn is a Semitic Akkadian counterpart of the Sumerian Dumuzi-Inanna cult. Until recently, there was little of a tangible and substantive nature to support this hypothesis. But in the course of recent years, a considerable amount of new Sumerian literary material has come to light which tends to confirm the thesis that at least some of the songs in the book of Canticles, reflect Sumerian origins. The following pages will sketch briefly the contents of the relevant Sumerian literary compositions and will present translations of the still unpublished texts as well as of the published ones, when deemed advisable.

The Dumuzi-Inanna cult and the sacred marriage ceremony which was its central rite, probably originated as far as we can tell at present, in the city known in the Bible as Erech, in the cuneiform literature as Unug or Urug, and in modern Arabic as Warka. Dumuzi, who is usually known by the epithet "shepherd" was probably a prominent ruler of the important Sumerian city-state of Erech early in the third millennium B.C. The tutelary deity of Erech was Inanna, a goddess who throughout Sumerian history was deemed to be the deity primarily responsible for sexual love, fertility, and procreation, and the names of Dumuzi and Inanna no doubt became closely intertwined in the early myth and ritual of Erech. Sometime about the middle of the third millennium, however, when the Sumerians were becoming more and more nationally minded, and the theologians were in the process of systematizing and classifying the Sumerian pantheon accordingly, there arose the seemingly quite plausible and not unattractive idea that the king of Sumer, no matter who he was, or from what city he originated, must become the husband of the life-giving goddess of love, that is, Inanna of Erech, if he were to insure effectively the fecundity and prosperity of the

¹³ E. R. Dalgish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden, 1962). This is a model comparative study of one psalmic genre and its Sumero-Akkadian cognates and analogues, with a comprehensive, up-to-date bibliography which should prove invaluable for the student of Biblical and Near Eastern interconnections.

¹⁴ Cf. Theophile Meek's valuable Introduction to the book in *The Interpreter's Bible* (12 v., New York, 1956) 5: pp. 91-97, which includes the pertinent bibliographical references.

¹⁵ For bibliographical details, cf. the preceding note, and Theophile Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (3rd ed., New York, 1960) p. 141, note 70.

land and its people.¹⁶ After the initial idea had become accepted dogma it was actually carried out in ritual practice by the consummation of a marriage ceremony which was probably repeated every New Year, between the king and a specially selected hierodule from Inanna's temple in Erech. To lend importance and prestige, however, to both the credo and the rite, it was advisable to carry them back to earlier times, and the honor of being the first mortal ruler to have become the husband of Inanna, Erech's most revered deity, not unnaturally fell to Dumuzi, the Erech ruler who over the centuries had become a memorable figure in Sumerian legend and lore.

The available Sumerian literary material, new and old, concerned with the sacred marriage, consists of (1) poems pertaining to the premarital courting and wooing of Dumuzi and Inanna; (2) poetic compositions relating to the marriage ritual, and stressing its importance for the welfare of the king and the prosperity of Sumer and its people; and (3) rhapsodic love songs uttered by the goddess Inanna to Dumuzi or by one of the temple hierodules to the king in the role of Dumuzi. The poems relating to the courtship are five in number, and each presents a different version of the love affair—the poets seem to be fancy free in inventing and improvising the pertinent details. Thus, according to one version, Inanna first rejects the shepherd Dumuzi's suit—she would rather marry the farmer Enkimdu—and it took considerable suasion on the part of Dumuzi to induce her to change her mind.¹⁷ Inanna's reluctance to marry is also evident from another poem in which she vaunts her noble pedigree—her mother is the goddess Ningal, her father, the moon-god Nanna, and her brother, the sun-god Utu—and Dumuzi has to caution her not to start a quarrel with him, since his pedigree is quite as noble.¹⁸ According to a third poem, Inanna finds it advisable to obtain permission from her father, Sin, before giving herself to Dumuzi who is waiting for her in the *gipar*.¹⁹ According to another version,

however, Dumuzi comes courting to Inanna's home, and is warmly welcomed by Inanna at her mother's behest.²⁰ On the other hand, there is a poem which depicts the lovers as deceiving the mother, that they might have their fill of love by the moonlight.²¹

The sacred marriage itself seems to have taken place on New Year's day, usually in the palace of the king, known as "the house of life." We now have six compositions which describe the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage rites and rituals in some detail, and two of these actually name the king who played the role of Dumuzi—one is Šulgi who reigned in Ur about 2050 B.C.,²² and the other is Iddin Dagan who reigned in Isin about a century and a half later.²³ As in the case of the courting, the marriage rituals vary in the different versions, and at the moment it is not possible to get a clear, consistent, and uniform picture of the ceremony, except that the marriage was consummated on a ceremonially prepared bed with a very special coverlet,²⁴ and that it was followed by a rich feast during which there was singing, dancing and instrumental music.²⁵ What the content of some of these songs may have been we learn from a group of about ten poems whose texts are now available, and it is these in particular which are reminiscent to no little extent of the passion and fervor which characterize Solomon's "Song of Songs."²⁶

But love and passion notwithstanding, the marriage of Dumuzi and Inanna ended in bitter, ironic tragedy, at least as far as Dumuzi was

²⁰ Cf. pp. 497–499.

²¹ Cf. pp. 499–501.

²² Cf. Van Dijk, "La Fête du nouvel an dans un texte de Šulgi," *Bi Or* 11 (1954): 83–88, and *TC* 2, No. 2.

²³ Cf. No. 18 of *SAHG*.

²⁴ For a poem devoted primarily to the nuptial bed of Inanna and Dumuzi, cf. *SSA*, pp. 65–85 (note that the first sign in the poem is šeš "brother," not ba l), and S. N. Kramer, "The Biblical Song of Songs and Sumerian Love Songs," *Expedition* 5, 1 (1962): 28–29; N 4305 (figure 5) obv. col. i duplicates lines 22–35 of this text.

²⁵ For the new texts concerned with the sacred marriage rites, cf. pp. 501–508 (of this study); cf. also *TMH N.F.*, No. 24, a small fragment of a larger tablet which had contained a whole cycle of Dumuzi-Inanna poems relevant for the sacred marriage ritual.

²⁶ For four new love songs, cf. pp. 508–510 (of this study); for bibliographical references to, and translations of, two other love songs, cf. *HBS*, pp. 212–215, and note that Ni 4569 (figure 9) obv. col. i, lines 15 ff. is a duplicate of the second of the two there treated. In addition there are a number of other more obscure love poems published and unpublished, which I hope to treat on a future occasion (thus Ni 4552—figure 8—probably contains part of two love-songs).

¹⁶ Cf. for the present the passage cited by the writer in *Expedition* 5, 1 (1962): 26 (for the Sumerian text see *SEM* No. 18, line 17 ff. and *SEM* No. 19, col. i, line 23 ff.).

¹⁷ For the translation of this poem, cf. S. N. Kramer, *JCS* 2 (1948): 60–68, and *SSA*, pp. 67–73 (the suggestion there made that the beginning of the poem is the text of *BE XXX* No. 4 is quite erroneous: two separate *balbale*-compositions are involved).

¹⁸ Cf. pp. 493–495 (of this study).

¹⁹ Cf. pp. 495–497.

concerned. Which brings us to the concluding part of this paper, an examination of the material that has recently become available for "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," a myth whose restoration and translation has now been in process for nearly half a century. Although by the year 1951, the text of this myth had been pieced together and revised three times as more and more of the tablets and fragments inscribed with it became available—these now number more than a score—the denouement of the plot was unknown since the relevant text was still wanting.²⁷ It is this missing portion of the myth which can now be restored in large part with the help of a tablet excavated by Leonard Woolley at Ur, and copied by C. J. Gadd, former Keeper in the British Museum, with whom I am collaborating on the publication of the literary texts from Ur. But first, the plot of the myth as known to date.

Inanna, "queen of heaven," the ambitious goddess of love and war whom the shepherd Dumuzi had wooed and won for wife, decides to descend to the Nether World in order to make herself its mistress, and thus perhaps to raise the dead. She therefore collects the appropriate divine laws and, having adorned herself with her queenly robes and jewels, she is ready to enter the "land of no return."

The queen of the Nether World is her older sister and bitter enemy, Ereshkigal, Sumerian goddess of death and gloom. Fearing, not without reason, lest her sister put her to death in the domain she rules, Inanna instructs her vizier, Ninshubur, who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she had failed to return he is to set up a lament for her in the assembly hall of the gods. He is then to go to Nippur, the city of Enlil, the leading god of the Sumerian pantheon, and plead with him to save her and not let her be put to death in the Nether World. If Enlil refuses, Ninshubur is to go to Ur, the city of the moon-god Nanna, and repeat his plea. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu, the city of Enki, the god of wisdom, who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," and he will surely come to her rescue.

Inanna then descends to the Nether World and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli.

At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper, who demands to know who she is and why she has come. Inanna concocts a false excuse for her visit, and the gatekeeper, on instructions from his mistress, leads her through the seven gates of the Nether World. As she passes through one gate after another her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her protests. Finally, after entering the last gate, she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven dreaded judges of the Nether World. They fasten upon her their eyes of death, and she is turned into a corpse, which is then hung from a stake.

Three days and three nights pass. On the fourth day Ninshubur, seeing that his mistress has not returned, proceeds to make the rounds of the gods in accordance with her instructions. As Inanna had surmised, both Enlil and Nanna refuse all help. Enki, however, devises a plan to restore her to life. He fashions the *kurgarra* and the *kalatur*, two sexless creatures, and entrusts to them the "food of life" and the "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the Nether World where Ereshkigal, "the birth-giving mother," lies sick moaning, "Oh my inside" and "Oh my outside." They, the *kurgarra* and *kalatur*, are to echo her cry and thus arouse her and gain her favor. They will then be offered water of the rivers and grain of the fields as gifts, but, Enki warns, they must not accept them. Instead they are to say, "Give us the corpse hanging from a nail" and proceed to sprinkle "the food of life" and "the water of life" which he had entrusted to them, and thus revive the dead Inanna. The *kurgarra* and *kalatur* do exactly as Enki bid them and Inanna revives.²⁸

Though Inanna is once again alive, her troubles are far from over, for it was an unbroken rule of the "land of no return" that no one who had entered its gates might return to the world above unless he produced a substitute to take his place in the Nether World.²⁹ Inanna is no exception to the rule. She is indeed permitted to reascend

²⁸ The contents of much of this section of the myth were poorly preserved in the texts known up to 1951, and have only now been restored with the help of new material which has since become available; for full details, see pp. 510-516 (of this study).

²⁹ The translation of this crucial line which helped to clarify to no little extent the plot of the myth was first suggested by Thorkild Jacobsen *apud* S. N. Kramer, *JCS* 4 (1950).

²⁷ For full details, cf. S. N. Kramer, "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World, Continued and Revised," *JCS* 4 (1950): 199-211, *JCS* 5 (1951): 1-17, and "Sumerian Literature," *PAPS* 85, 3 (1942): 293-323 and 10 plates (containing all the relevant texts then known).

to the earth, but is accompanied by a number of heartless demons, or *galla's* as they are known in Sumerian, with instructions to bring her back to the lower regions if she fails to provide another deity to take her place. Surrounded by these ghoulish constables, Inanna first proceeds to visit the two Sumerian cities Umma and Bad-tibira. The protecting gods of these cities, Shara and Lulal, terrified at the sight of the unearthly arrivals, clothe themselves in sackcloth and grovel in the dust before Inanna. Inanna seems to be gratified by their humility, and when the *galla's* threaten to carry them off to the Nether World she restrains the demons and thus saves the lives of the two gods.

Inanna and the demons, continuing their journey, arrive at Kullab, a district in the Sumerian city-state of Erech. The king of this city is none other than her own husband, the shepherd-god Dumuzi, who, instead of bewailing the fact that his wife had descended to the Nether World where she had suffered torture and death, "put on a noble robe, sat high on a throne," that is, he was actually celebrating and rejoicing. Enraged, Inanna looks down upon him with "the eye of death" and hands him over to the eager and unmerciful demons to be carried off to the Nether World. Dumuzi turns pale and weeps. He lifts his hands to the sky and pleads with the sun-god Utu, who is Inanna's brother and therefore his own brother-in-law. Dumuzi begs Utu to help him escape the clutches of the demons by changing his hand into the hand of a snake, and his foot into the foot of a snake.

But then, right in the middle of Dumuzi's prayer, the available texts broke off, and the reader was left hanging in mid-air. Now, however, with the help of the new tablet from Ur which continues for more than thirty lines beyond the hitherto known text we learn the melancholy end. The tablet begins with the arrival of the *galla's*, that is the Nether World demons, in Erech where they seize Inanna and demand of her that she descend to the Nether World from where she had presumably just returned, and that she do so without putting on her divine queenly garments and only after removing her crown. Inanna, terrified, turned over Dumuzi to the *galla's* as her substitute. The *galla's* then bound Dumuzi hand, foot, and neck, lacerated him with axes and tortured him cruelly. Whereupon Dumuzi raised his hand to his brother-in-law, the sun-god Utu, tells him what has happened, namely that his wife Inanna

has turned him over to the *galla's* as her substitute in the Nether World and pleads with him to transform his body so that like a *sag-kal* snake he might transverse the highland meadows, and bring his "soul" to the home of his sister Geštinanna.

All this we knew though, in a considerably variant form, from the earlier versions; now comes the hitherto missing denouement. Utu, the Ur text tells us, heeds Dumuzi's plea, transforms his body so that like a *sag-kal* snake he traversed the highland meadows and "like a bird fleeing the claws of the falcon" he carried his soul to the home of his sister. Upon seeing her unfortunate brother, Geštinanna gashes her face, rips her garments, and utters a bitter lament for him. The *galla's*, those ruthless, cruel, friendless, loveless, amoral creatures now begin their wandering search for the escaped Dumuzi and arrive at Geštinanna's palace. They demand of the goddess that she point out to them where her brother is hiding, but though repeatedly tortured by the *galla's* she refused to give them the information they want. Having failed to find Dumuzi in Geštinanna's palace, the *galla's* decide to go to Dumuzi's "holy sheep fold" where once again they lacerate his body with axes and knives. The Ur text concludes with the sister Geštinanna wondering about in the city like a bird, and lamenting for her brother. Here now is a tentative translation of the new Ur tablet:³⁰

1. The little *galla's* open (their) mouths, say to the big *galla's*:
2. "Come now, let us proceed to Inanna's holy lap."
3. The *galla's* entered Erech, seize the holy Inanna:
4. Come, Inanna, get on . . . your way—descend to the Nether World,
5. Go where your heart had led you—descend to the Nether World,
6. Go to Ereškigal's home—descend to the Nether World
7. Do not put on the holy *ma*-garment, the *pala*-garment, your garment of queenship—descend to the Nether World,
8. Remove from your head the holy crown, meet for words of greeting—descend to the Nether World,
9. Do not preen your face seductively—descend to the Nether World,
10. Do not . . . your feet on a . . . -dog
11. . . .descend . . . will not . . ."
12. They pressed close (?) to the holy Inanna, they . . . ,
13. Inanna, terrified, gave Dumuzi into (their) hands:

³⁰ For a transliteration of the tablet see pp. 515-516.

14. "The lad—put his feet into fetters (?)
15. The lad—throw a noose (?) over him, put his neck into the neck-stock."
16. Hooks (?) awls (?), (and) long (?) needles (?) were lifted to his face,
17. They gash him with large axes,
18. The lad—they make him stand up, they make him sit down (saying):
19. "We(?) will(?) throw(?) the ... on his ..., will make stand..."
20. The lad—they bound his arms, they ... him,
21. They cover his face with a "garment of fear"
22. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:
23. "Utu, I am your friend, me, the man, you know (?)
24. I took your sister to wife,
25. She descended to the Nether World,
26. Because she descended to the Nether World,
27. She turned me over to the Nether World, as her substitute.
28. Utu, you are a just judge, do not let me be carried off,
29. Change my hand, alter my form,
30. Let me escape the hands of my *galla's*, let them not catch me,
31. Like a *sag-kal*-snake, I will traverse the highland meadows,
32. I will carry off my soul to the home of (my) sister Geštinanna."
33. Utu accepted his tears,
34. Changed his hands, altered his form,
35. Like a *sag-kal*-snake he traversed the highland meadows.
36. Dumuzi—his soul left him like a hawk flying towards a (mother) bird,
37. He carried off his soul to the home of Geštinanna.
38. Geštinanna looked at her brother,
39. Scratched at her cheeks, scratched at her mouth,
40. Lowered (?) her face to her side, ripped her garments,
41. Uttered a bitter lament for the suffering lad:
42. "Oh my brother, Oh my brother, the lad whose days are not ...
43. Oh my brother, the shepherd Amašumgalanna, the lad whose days, whose ... are not ...
44. Oh my brother, the lad who has no wife, has no child,
45. Oh my brother, the lad who has no friend, has no companion,
46. Oh my brother, the lad who brings no comfort to his mother."
47. The *galla's* sought out Dumuzi, surrounded him,
48. The little *galla's* say to the big *galla's*:
49. "Your *galla's* who have no mother, have no father, sister, brother, wife, son,
50. Who ever (?) flutter (?) over (?) heaven and earth as (?) chief constables,
51. You *galla's* who [stick close (?)] to a man's side,
52. Who show not kind favor, who know not good (from) bad,
53. Who has (ever) seen (living) in peace the soul of one who is ... (and) terrified!
54. Let us not go to the home of his friend, let us not go to the home of his brother-in-law,
55. Let us proceed (in search of) the shepherd to the home of Geštinanna."

56. The *galla's* clapped their hands, went searching for him,
57. With cries which ceased not from their(?) mouths,
58. The *galla's* proceeded to the home of Geštinanna:
59. "Show us where your brother is," they said to her, (but) she told them not,
60. Heaven (?) was brought close, Earth was put in her lap, (but) she told them not,
61. Earth (?) was brought close, the ... scraped at ..., (but) she told them not,
62. The ... was brought close, they ... tore (?) at her garments (but) she told them not
63. Pitch (?) was poured on her lap, (but) she told them not,
64. They found not Dumuzi in Geštinanna's house.
65. The [little] *galla's* say to the big *galla's*:
66. "Come, let us proceed to the holy sheepfold."
67. They seize Dumuzi [by (?) the holy] sheepfold,
68. They surrounded him, they [seize] him, they seek him out, they stare at him,
69. Against the lad was wielded (?) the ... (and) ax,
70. They gashed (his) lap with knives (?), they surrounded him.
71. The sister, because of her brother, wandered about in the city (?) like (?) a bird (?):
72. "Oh my brother, let me go (?) to (?) the great, evil ..., let me bring ...".

THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS:

PREMARITAL COURTING

1. UM 29-16-37 (Figs. 1 and 2)

*Transliteration*³¹

1. ama-me-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-in-sar-re
2. šul-e ama-me-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-in-sar-re

³¹ There is as yet no reasonable and formal consensus among Sumerologists on transliteration procedures; the transliterations used throughout this study follow by and large the suggestions outlined in *AS* 12: pp. 6-8. As for the translations, they assume on the part of the reader, a thorough acquaintance with, and critical understanding of, the Sumerological contributions of Thureau-Dangin, Poebel, Deimel, Landsberger, Falkenstein, Jacobsen, and the present writer, as well as those of the younger generation such as van Dijk, Sollberger, Gordon, Sjöberg, Civil, and Edzard. The works of these scholars have been used constantly in the preparation of this study, and except in unusual cases, the cuneiformist who is well versed in them will have no difficulty in following the grammatical and lexicographical basis for the translation, in spite of the numerous irregularities, idiosyncrasies, and uncertainties. In the transliteration two dots are for one broken or illegible sign, three dots are for two such signs; four dots are for three or more such signs. In the translation two dots are for one missing word, three dots are for two missing words, four dots are for three or more missing words; words in brackets are restorations, words in parentheses are not in the Sumerian but are added in the English for the sake of clarity.

3. ama-mu-^dga-ša-an-gal-da-nu-me (sic!) sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-in-sar-re
4. ^dga-ša-an-gi-kù-ga-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-in-sar-re
5. a-a-^dzuen-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-[in-sa]r-re
6. šeš-mu-^dutu-da-nu-me-a sila-a mi-edin-na i-è-mi-[in-sa]r-re
7. lú-ki-sikil du₁₄-gim na-an-mú-mú-un
8. ^dinanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
9. ^dinanna du₁₄-gim na-an-mú-mú-un
10. ^dnin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-gi₄-dè-en
11. a-a-mu a-a-zu-gim in-ga-dím
12. ^dinanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
13. [ama-mu] ama-zu-gim in-ga-dím
14. ^dnin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-gi₄-dè-en
15. ^dgeštin(?) -an-na ^d... -nu-... -gim in-ga-dím
16. ^dinanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
17. mà-e ^dutu-gim in-ga-dím-me-en
18. ^dnin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-gi₄-dè-en
19. ^den-ki ^dzuen-gim in-ga-dím
20. ^dinanna inim-gim ga-àm-me-en-dè-en
21. ^dsir-tur ^dnin-gal-gim in-ga-dím
22. ^dnin-é-gal-la ad-gim ga-àm-gi₄-dè-en
23. inim bi-in-eš-a inim-ši-li-eš-àm
24. du₁₄(?) -mú-mú-da(?) -a ši-li-šà-ga-na-ke₄
25. ^{na}šuba-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ur_x-ru
26. ^dama-ušumgal-an-na ^{na}šuba-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ur_x-ru
27. [^{na}šuba-ke₄(?) ^{na}šuba ...
28. [^{na}šub[ba-ke₄(?) ^{na}šuba ...
29. ... [a-ùr]-ra-lá-lá a-ùr-ra mu-na-ab-lá-[lá]
30. ... [a-bàd]-da-lá-lá a-bàd-da mu-na-ab-lá-lá
31. da[m-a-ni nu-u₈-gig-e] [^dama-ušumgal-an-na-ra gù mu-na-dé-[e]
32. ^{na}šuba [ur_x]-ru ^{na}šuba ur_x-ru a-ba-a mu-na-ur_x-ru
33. ^dama-ušumgal-[an-na ^{na}šuba] ur_x-ru a-ba-a mu-na-ur_x-ru
34. ^{na}šuba-[na] [^{na}šub[ba-na(?) tur-tur-bi igi-PA-ág-me-lám-a
35. ^{na}šuba-na ^{na}šub[ba-na(?) gal-gal-bi gaba-kù-me-lám-a
36. ^dama-ušumgal-an-na nu-u₈-gig-ra inim mu-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
37. nu-u₈-gig-ga-àm dam-mu nu-u₈-gig-ga-àm
38. kù-^dinanna-ke₄ nu-bar-ra e-ne-er mu-na-ur_x-ru
39. ^{na}šuba-na-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ur_x-ru
40. ^dama-ušumgal-an-na-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ke₄ ^{na}šuba-na-ur_x-ru
41. ^{na}šuba ur_x-ru ^{na}šuba ur_x-[ru] a-ba-a mu-na-ur_x-ru
42. ^dama-ušumgal-an-na ^{na}šuba ur_x-ru a-ba-a mu-na-ur_x-ru
43. ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà su₆-a-ni ^{na}za-gìn-na
44. me-a am-an-né ma-ab-dù-da-a-mà su₆-a-ni ^{na}za-gìn-na
45. ... e su₆-a-ni ^{na}za-gìn-na su₆-a-ni ^{na}za-gìn-na
46. dur-gar-^dinanna-kam
47. gi-dub-ba gi-ta-sar-ra³²

Translation

1. "Without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) ...plain,
2. Young man, without my mother, you would be driven into street (and) ...plain,
3. Without my mother Ningal, you would be driven into street (and) ...plain,
4. Without the 'Lady of the Holy Reed' you would be driven into street (and) ...plain
5. Without Father Sin, you would be driven into street (and) ...plain,
6. Without my brother Utu, you would be driven into street (and) ...plain."
7. "Young lady, do not start a quarrel,
8. Inanna, let us talk it over,
9. Inanna, do not start a quarrel,
10. Ninegalla let us take counsel together.
11. My father is as good as your father,
12. Inanna, let us talk it over;
13. My mother is as good as your mother,
14. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
15. Geštinanna(?) is as good as ...,
16. Inanna, let us talk it over;
17. I am as good as Utu,
18. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together;
19. Enki is as good as Sin,
20. Inanna, let us talk it over;
21. Sirtur is as good as Ningal,
22. Ninegalla, let us take counsel together."
23. The word they had spoken, it is a word of desire,
24. With the starting of a quarrel (?) comes (?) the desire of her heart.
25. He of the šuba-stones, he of the šuba-stones, plows the šuba-stones,
26. Amaušumgalanna, he of the šuba-stones, plows the šuba-stones,
27. He of the šuba-stones ...,
28. He of the šuba-stones ...,
29. ... who fills the water of the roof, fills for her the water of the roof,
30. ... who fills the water of the walls, fills for her the water of the walls.
31. [His] wife, [the hierodule], says to Amaušumgalanna:
32. "[Plow] the šuba-stones, plow the šuba-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
33. Amaušumgalanna, plow the šuba-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
34. Of the [na]-šuba-stones, of the [na-šuba-stones], their small ones on the ...-face of (?) the melam,
35. Of the [na-šuba-stones, of the na-šuba-stones(?)], their large ones are the holy breast of (?) the melam."
36. Amaušumgalanna answers the hierodule:
37. "Who is a hierodule, my wife who is a hierodule,
38. Holy Inanna, he who is not .. will plow them for her."
39. He of the na-šuba-stones, he of the na-šuba-stones plows the šuba-stones,
40. Amaušumgalanna, he of the na-šuba-stones plows the šuba-stones.
41. "Plow the šuba-stones, plow the šuba-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?

³² The text contains two glosses: ú-ra (?) -a-n (?) -ni (?) (line 1), and ba-a-ni-i (line 43).

42. Amašumgalanna, plow the *šuba*-stones, who (else) will plow them for her?
43. Of him who was made for me, of him who was made for me, his beard is lapis lazuli,
44. Who was made by An for me, his beard is lapis lazuli;
45. ... his beard is lapis lazuli, his beard is lapis lazuli."
46. It is a *durgar* of Inanna.
47. Written with a tablet reed, with a reed.

Commentary

This poem which consists largely of a dialogue between Inanna and Dumuzi begins with a boastful address by the goddess intended to impress her husband-to-be with the importance of her family for his well-being (lines 1-6). Dumuzi's answer, gentle but firm, is that his family is as good as Inanna's (7-22). But this little quarrel serves only to arouse their passion for each other and they proceed to indulge their love (23-30). There follows a tender and poetic tête-a-tête between the two which seems to further stimulate their love, but the passage is allusive and metaphorical in character, and its meaning is far from clear (lines 31-45). As the cuneiformist will readily perceive, the translation of the poem is extremely difficult and the meanings chosen are those which seem to me best justified by the context, but not a few will no doubt turn out to be erroneous. Note especially the following: Ninegalla, "queen of the palace" (lines 10 ff.) is an epithet of Inanna. In line 15, Dumuzi is probably speaking about his sister Geštinanna and comparing her to Inanna's sister (the name is only partially preserved), although Inanna had not mentioned this lady when boasting of her family. Lines 23-24, if the translation is correct, contain what seems to be a proverbial comment on the psychological value of a lovers' quarrel. The obscure references to plowing the *šuba* stones (line 25 ff.) and the *na-šuba*-stones are probably metaphorical expressions for sexual intercourse. In lines 32, 33, 38, 41, 42 the "her" probably refers to Inanna, although it is the goddess who is speaking, and we might therefore have expected "me" instead. Lines 41-45 are all assumed to be part of Inanna's speech and her queries (lines 41-42) therefore remain unanswered by Dumuzi. For the *durgar* genre of poetic compositions cf. line 620 of Proto Lú, Landsberger manuscript as completed by M. Civil. The subscription contained in line 47 is unique, as far as I know.

2. TRS No. 70

Transliteration

1. ...-šed₇-šed₇-e šed₇(!?) RI
2. kù-^dinanna-ke₄ ú-BU-BU-RI BU RI
3. lú-su₁₁-lum-ri-ri-ge mu-nim-mar AN
4. kù-^dinanna-ra lú-su₁₁-lum-ri-ri-ge mu-nim-mar ...
5. a hé-en-na-túm a hé-en-na-túm numun-šè gig-ga
6. ^dinanna-ra a-da(?) DU₆ hé-en-na-túm numun-šè babbar-ra(!)
7. lú na-túm lú na-túm DU₆ za-pàd-šè na-túm
8. ki-sikil-^dinanna lú na-túm DU₆ za-pàd-šè na-túm
9. DU₆-ra GABA-bi-a za-gìn-na bí-ib-ri-ri-ge
10. ^dinanna-ra DU₆-ra GABA-bi-a za-gìn-na bí-ib-ri-ri-ge
11. nunuz-dúr-ra in-pàd-dè dūr-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
12. ^dinanna-ke₄ nunuz-sag-gá in-pàd-dè sag-gá-na mu-un-gá-gá
13. ^{na}lagab-za-gìn-a-ru in-pàd-dè gú-bar-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
14. níg-sal-la-guškin in-pàd-dè síg-sag-gá-na mu-un-gá-gá
15. guškin-pi-pi-sal-la in-pàd-dè geštug-na mu-un-gá-gá
16. zabar-ág-su(!)-ub-ag-a in-pàd-dè ús-geštug-ga-na mu-un-gá-gá
17. níg-lál-dirig-dirig-ga(!) in-pàd-dè igi(!)-ni-a mu-un-gá-gá
18. níg-é-nun-bar-ra in-pàd-dè kiri₃-ni-a mu-un-gá-gá
19. é-giš-BAD-dirig in-pàd-dè KA-kuš-na mu-un-gá-gá
20. li(!?)-taškarin-giš-šag₆-ga in-pàd-dè li-gú-ra-na mu-un-gá-gá
21. pú-lál-a-dùg-ga in-pàd-dè íb(?)-íb(?)-a-ni mu-un-gá-gá
22. ^{na}giš-nu₁₁-gal-zalag-ga in-pàd-dè haš₄-na mu-un-gá-gá
23. giš-BU-PÚ-gig-ga in-pàd-dè SAL-la-na mu-un-gá-gá
24. GÜB(?) -GÜB-bé(?) -du₇-a in-pàd-dè gír-ru-na mu-un-gá-gá
25. sa-gíd-da-àm
26. lú-DU₆-ra-^{na}4 za-gìn-ri-ri-ga-ra en gaba-na mu-ri
27. ^dinanna-DU₆-ra-^{na}4 za-gìn-ri-ri-ga-ra ^ddumu-zi-da mu-ri
28. li(?) -dur(?) -an-na é-^den-líl-lá en gaba-na mu-ri
29. é-an-na na-kada-^den-líl-lá ^ddumu-zi gaba-na mu(!)-ri
30. ^{gi}ig-^{na}4 za-gìn-na-gi₆-par₄-ra-gub-ba en gaba-na mu-ri
31. ^{gi}ig-SAL-é-uš-gíd-da-é-an-na-ka-gub-ba ^ddumu-zi gaba-na mu-ri
32. DU₆-ra GABA-bi-a im-mi-in-gur-ru-a
33. ^dinanna-ke₄ DU₆-ra GABA-bi-a im-mi-in-gur-ru-a
34. munus-e níg-i-lu-lam-ma-na im-šu-tag ba- ...
35. ki-sikil-e ... -dug₄-ga-ni-a a-a-ni-ra(!) lú mu-un-gi₄
36. ^dinanna ki-e-ne-di-ba-ni(!?) -a a-a-ni-ra(!) lú mu-un-gi₄
37. ma-mu ma-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
38. ga-ša-an-mèn ma-mu ma-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
39. ma-gi₆-par₄-ra-mu a-ne ma-ab-gíd-dè
40. ^{gi}ná-gi₄-rin-na-mu uku na-ab-gub-bu-dè

41. ú-za-gìn-a-ru-mu dè-ma-ab-dag-ge-ne
 42. me-e mu-[lu]-šà(!)-ba-mu dè(!)-ma-ni-ib-
 ku₄-ku₄-dè
 43. ^dama(!)-ušumgal-an-na-mu dè-ma-ni-ib-
 ku₄-ku₄-dè
 44. šu-ni šu-mu-ta dè-mà(!)-da-ma-ma-dè
 45. ša-ba-ni(!) šà-ab-mu-ta dè-mà-da-ma-ma-dè
 46. šu-šu(!?)-šè(?) [ma]-al-la-na ù-ku(!?)-bi
 zè-ba-an-ga
 47. šà-šà-ba tab-ba-na ħi-li-bi ku₇-ku₇-da-an-ga³³
 Subscription: illegible.

Translation

1.
2. Holy Inanna
3. He who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm,
4. Who gathers the dates, . . . the date palm for Inanna,
5. He brought her water, he brought her water, for the seed, the black,
6. He brought Inanna a heap(?) (of precious stones) by(?) the water for the seed, the white.
7. He brought her, he brought her, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
8. He brought the maid Inanna, he brought her a heap of (precious) stones to pick from,
9. Of the heap—he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its “breast,”
10. Of the heap, for Inanna he gathers the lapis lazuli (stones) onto its “breast.”
11. She picks the buttocks-stones, puts them on her buttocks,
12. Inanna picks the head-stones, puts them on her head,
13. She picks the *duru*-lapis lazuli stones, puts them on her nape,
14. She picks ribbons(?) of gold, puts them in her hair of the head,
15. She picks the narrow gold earrings, puts them on her ears,
16. She picks the bronze eardrops, puts them on her ear-lobes,
17. She picks “that which drips honey,” puts it on her face,
18. She picks “that which covers(?) the princely house,” puts it on her nose,
19. She picks “the house which . . .,” puts it on her . . . ,
20. She picks cypress (and) boxwood, the lovely wood, puts them on her navel,
21. She picks a sweet “honey well” puts it about her loins,
22. She picks bright alabaster, puts it on her anus,
23. She picks black . . willow, puts it on her vulva,
24. She picks ornate sandals, puts them on her feet.
25. It is a *sagidda*.
26. For whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—the *en* met her,
27. Inanna for whom the heap of lapis lazuli stones had been gathered—Dumuzi met her,
28. In the “navel(?) of heaven,” the house of Enlil, the *en* met her,
29. In the Eanna, Enlil’s herdsman Dumuzi met her,
30. Who was standing at the lapis lazuli door of the *gipar*—the *en* met her,
31. Who was standing by the narrow(?) door of the storehouse of Eanna—Dumuzi met her.
32. When to the “breast” of the heap she returned them,
33. When Inanna, to the “breast” of the heap, she returned them,
34. The woman . . . her *ilulamma*-song.
35. The maid, singing, sent a messenger to her father,
36. Inanna, dancing, sent a messenger to her father:
37. “My house(?), my house(?), let him make it ‘long’ for me,
38. I the queen—my house(?), my house(?) let him make it ‘long’ for me,
39. My *gipar*-house(?) let him make it ‘long’ for me,
40. The people will set up my fruitful bed,
41. They will cover it with plants (the color of) *duru*-lapis lazuli,
42. I will bring there my sweetheart,
43. I will bring there Amaušumgalanna,
44. He will put his hand by my hand,
45. He will put his heart by my heart,
46. His putting of hand to hand—its sleep(?) is so refreshing,
47. His pressing of heart to heart—its pleasure is so sweet.

Commentary

This narrative poem is divided into two stanzas by the rubric *sa-gíd-da-àm* (line 25), literally perhaps “the long string.” The first six lines are quite obscure; the remainder of the first stanza is taken up with a detailed account of Inanna’s bedecking the various parts of her body with precious stones, jewels, and ornaments, which she selects from what seems to be a treasure-heap brought to her by a “date-gathering” devotee. The second stanza tells of the meeting between the bejewelled Inanna and Dumuzi in the Eanna of Erech, a meeting which so fills Inanna with desire and passion that she sends a special messenger to her father (no doubt the god Sin) with the request that he (that is, perhaps, her father) make her house “long” so that she and her lover can take their pleasure in it. In detail, note the following: the word represented by the sign *D* U₆ (line 6 ff.) seems to end in an *r*; in line 14, “ribbons” attempts to render *níg-sa-l-la*, perhaps literally “narrow things”; in line 16, “eardrops” attempts to render *ág-s-u-u-b-a-g-a*, “that which presses”; the objects mentioned in lines 18 and 19 cannot be identified from the literal meaning of the descriptive phrases used for them; the meaning of lines 32–35 is obscure; the

³³ The text contains the following glosses: *pa-du-úr* (?) (line 15), *UR* (?) - . . (line 17), *za* (?) - *dù-ú* and *gi₄* (line 23), *me-sír* (line 24), illegible traces of a gloss (line 27).

rendering "house" (lines 37 ff.) assumes that m a is a variant reading for g á.

3. SLTN No. 35

Transliteration

obv., col. i

1. NE(?) -gim
2. -gim ÁB
3. é-gal-la li-bi-ir-si-zu-en-me-eš
4. nunuz-dúb-dúb-gim
5. li-bi-ir-si-zu-en-me-eš
6. -DI di-ša-àm
7. níg(?) -a-EL(?) min-àm
8.
9. -àm
10. [šú-H]A-dè mu- ... mu-gi-a šà-ga-bi
11. ... suš-ba-šè mu-lu da-an-gi₄-gi₄
12. ... -sag kaš-sag SAL-NE-GÁ nun(?) -bi
13. ... mu-...-šè mu-lu (da-an-gi₄-gi₄)
14. -e SAL-NE-[GÁ] (nun(?) -bi)
15. sa-dù-ná-a-šè
16. ... -DU mu-lu (da-an-gi₄-gi₄)
17. SAL-NE-(GÁ nun(?) -bi)
18. [šú-H]A-dam giš-gi... -dù-a-ni-šè
19. -DU mu-lu (da-an-gi₄-gi₄)
20. suḥur^{kua}-gur-gur-ra SAL-NE-(GÁ nun(?) -bi)
21. li-bi-ir-[si] ... níg-a-rá im-DU
22. mušen zag-ga mušen-dù mu-un-túm
23. suḥur^{kua} ... šu-HA-dè mu-un-túm
24. nin-mu ... ba-an-da-ab-dug₄
25. lú-sipad-dè ia šu-šè mu-un-lá
26. ^ddumu-zi-dè ia-[ga] zag-šè mu-un-lá
27. ia-ga NIG-bàn-da zag-šè mu-un-lá
28. ga-kaš ... -giš-ra zag-šè mu-un-lá
29. [en-m]u é-e gù ba-an-dé
30. ^ddumu-zi-dè
31. [é]-gál-lu nin-mu é-[gál-lu]
32.

obs., col. ii

1. nu-u₈-gi₂-ge
2. ama-[u]gu-ni gir mu-un-gub-[gub]
3. ... i-lu(?) -zu mu-un-
4. i-g[i₄-in] šul(?) NI-MUŠ-dam-
5. i-gi₄-[in šul]
6. i-gi₄-in [šul] e-ne za-ra
7. i-gi₄-in šul(!) a-a-zu na-[nam]
8. i-gi₄-in šul(!) ama-zu na-nam
9. ama-ni ama-zu-gim in-ni-
10. a-a-ni a-a-zu-gim in-ni-... -dè-en
11. é gál-lu nin-mu é gál-lu
12. ^dinanna dug₄-ga-ama-na-šè
13. a mu-un-tu₅ ia-dug-ga mu-un-šéš
14. ^{tú}pala₂-maḥ bar-ra nam-mi-in-dul
15. ... mu-lu-ug-ga-ni šu ba-an-ti
16. ^{na}za-gin gú-a si bí-ib-sá-sá-e
17. ^{na}kišib šu-ni-a ba-ni-in-du₈
18. in-nin₉-e gir-ni mu-un-gub-gub
19. ^ddumu-zi-dè ^{gi}ig im-ma-ni-in-ús
20. é-e id₄-gim im-ma-na-ra-é
21. igi mu-un-ši-bar mu-un-na-ḥul-la
22. gú-da mu-ni-in-lá

rev., col. iii

1.
2. ^ddumu-zi-dè
3. en-^ddumu-zi
4. lugal-mu mà-e(?)
5. lugal-mu
6. ^ddumu-zi-dè lú(?) -... nu(?) -...
7. lugal-mu é ... -ra-na-ni
8. suš-ba-^ddumu-zi-dè nitalam-a-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
9. nitalam-mu ... -è-ni
10. ^dinanna ... é-dingir-mà
11. é-dingir-mà-šè mu-e(?) -túm-en
12. igi-dingir-mà-šè i-e(?) -ná-en
13. zag-gu-la-dingir-mà-ka ^dinanna mu-da-tuš-ù-dè-en
14. ḥur-gim ḥu-mu-na-ab-bé-a-ka
15. ... -ka im-ma-an-tuš
16. ... šu
17. ... -ra gir im-ma-an-[gub-gub]
18. ... a-ra-zu mu-na-ab-bé
19.
20.
21.
22.
23. ... NE
24. ... [i]bi-ir-si

rev., col. iv

1.
2. ... igi-z[a]
3. ... ušumgal-mu ^{gi}š má [ba-e-dè-ri]
4. ... in-nin₉-ra gú-ab-[ba-šè]
5. ... ušum[gal]-mu ^{gi}š má(!) ba-e-dè-ri
6. [urú ukkin]-na-àm urú-zu urú ukkin-na-àm
7. urú(?) ukkin-e im-ma-ni-ib-dug₄-e-en
8. urú-zu ... urú ukkin-àm
9. za-e ... ba-ni-ib-dug₄-e-en
10. ama-mu ... la-ba-ni-ib-dug₄
11. šeš-[mu] ... UR-sar-ra la-ba-ni-ib-dug₄
12. nin₉-mu ^dgeštin-an-na la-ba-ni-ib-dug₄
13. za-e ... -a-... ba-ni-ib-dug₄-e
14. nitalam-mu šu na-ma-tag-tag-an
15. ... -mu na-[m]a-nu-nu-un
16. ... na-ma-ni-ib-dù-un
17. ... [na-ma-ni-ib]-ŠUL-ŠUL-an
18. ... -nun-na
19. ... [na-ma-ni-ib]-... -an
20.
21. níg-nam
22. ^dnin-é-gal-la
23. am-^ddumu-zi
24. ... še-er-zi kù-^d
25. ... -na-mu an-né še-er-zi ...
26. ... ba-
27. ... ³⁴

³⁴ This text contains a large number of glosses, thus in col. i: iš-te-na-a-... (line 6), qí-ir-bi-a-pi-im (line 10), illegible traces of a gloss (line 11), an-ni-a-am (line 12), ...-man-si-tum šu-nu-la-at-sú (line 15), illegible traces of a gloss (line 22), iš-ta-ka-an (line 24), i(?) -... na-ši (line 25), i-na-...-šu(?) (line 26), illegible traces of a gloss (line 27); in col. ii: i-na SAL-mi-ša-... (line 2),

Translation

obv., col. i

1. like,
2. like,
3. in the palace they are Sin's(?) "brides-men."
4. like those who break eggs,
5. they are Sin's "brides-men,"
6. being one,
7. being two,
8.,
9.
10. "The fisherman in the midst of the cane-brake,
11. To the ... of the shepherd .. I would return him;
12. Best .., best beer, that,
13. To the (I would return) him;
14. that,
15. To the lying at the ...,
16. (I would return) him;
17., that,
18. The fisherman, to his .. canebrake,
19. (I would return) him."
20. The .. -*suḫur*-fish, that,
21. The "brides-man" brought(?),
22. The birds at (his) side, the hunter brought,
23. The *suḫur*-fish, the fisherman brought.
24. My queen placed
25. The shepherd carried fat by(?) hand,
26. Dumuzi carried fat (and) milk at the side,
27. He carried fat (and) milk in small pitchers at the side,
28. He carried milk (and) beer in ... at the side,
29. M[y lord] speaks by the house,
30. Dumuzi:
31. "Open the [house], my queen, [open] the house,
32."

obv., col. ii

1. The hierodule
2. Directed her feet to the mother who gave birth to her.
3. "Your,
4. Lo, the youth(?),
5. L[o, the you]th
6. Lo, the [youth], he for you,
7. Lo, the youth, he is your father,
8. Lo, the youth, he is your mother,
9. His mother has ... like your mother,
10. His father has .. you like your father,
11. Open the house, my queen, open the house."
12. Inanna, at the command of her mother,
13. Bathed, anointed herself with goodly oil,
14. Covered her body with the noble *pala*-garment
15. Took .., her dowry,
16. Arranged the lapis lazuli about (her) neck,

.... - nu ú - za - az (line 3), illegible traces of glosses (lines 4, 9, 21), i - na ... - i š - ta ... (line 17), i š - ... - ma (line 18), ip - te ... (line 19), i š (?) - ... (line 20); col. iii: illegible traces of glosses (lines 3, 13, 17, 18); col. iv: ... lu - ... - bi (line 6), i - ik - ka l - ... (line 7), m a (?) - ... (line 8), illegible traces of glosses (lines 9, 11, 13, 16), ... - š u m (line 18).

17. Grasped (her) seal in her hand.
18. The lady directed her step,
19. Opened the door for (?) Dumuzi,
20. In(?) the house she came forth to him like the light of the moon,
21. Gazed at him, rejoiced for him,
22. Embraced him

rev., col. iii

1.,
2. Dumuzi,
3. The lord Dumuzi,
4. "My king, I (?),
5. My king (?),
6. Dumuzi,
7. My king, his(?) .. the house"
8. The shepherd Dumuzi says to his wife:
9. "My wife, his coming forth,
10. Inanna, the house of my god,
11. I will bring you to the house of my god,
12. You will lie before my god,
13. You, Inanna(?) will sit at the seat of honor of my god."
14. When he had thus spoken,
15. He seated,
16.,
17. [Directed] his foot to ..;
18. Uttered a prayer .. to him,
19.
20.
21.
22.
23.
24. ... the "brides-man"

rev., col. iv

1. "....,
2. ... before you,
3. ... my *ušumgal*, [directed] the boat
4. ... for the lady [at] the bank of the sea,
5. My *ušum[gal]* directed the boat,
6. It is an [assembly city], your city is an assembly city,
7. I have put you in charge over the assembly city(?)
8. Your city, it is an assembly city,
9. I have put you in charge,
10. I did not put my mother .. in charge of it,
11. I did not put [my] brother .. in charge of it,
12. I did not put my sister Geštinanna in charge of it,
13. It is you ... whom I have put in charge of it.
14. Do not lay a hand on my wife,
15. Do not,
16. Do not build,
17. Do not,
18.,
19. [Do not],
20.,
21. Whatsoever,
22. Ninegal"
23. Dumuzi, the wild ox,,
24. ... the brilliant, the holy,,
25. My .. brilliant in(?) heaven,
26.
27.

Commentary

The beginning of this highly significant Dumuzi-Inanna myth is fragmentary, and little can be made of its contents; it seems to begin with an account of a marriage ceremony (col. i, 1-9; note the repetition of the word "bridesmen"), and continues with an address of obscure meaning in the Emesal dialect by a female deity, presumably Inanna (col. i, 10-19). The narrative seems to begin again with col. i, 20, but it is not until line 25 that the text becomes intelligible, we then learn that Dumuzi has come to Inanna's house with gifts of fat, milk, and beer, and pleads for admittance (col. i, 25-32). Following a break of uncertain size, we find Inanna going for advice to her mother who urges her strongly to "open the house" for Dumuzi since he will be like a father and mother to her (col. ii, 1-11). Whereupon Inanna prepared herself to meet Dumuzi as befits a Sumerian queenly bride, washing, anointing and bedecking herself, and not failing to take along her dowry and seal (col. ii, 12-17); she opens the door for Dumuzi and they embrace and cohabit (col. ii, 18-22). Following another break in the text we find Dumuzi addressing Inanna and inviting her to accompany him to his god's house where she will be treated with great honor. What follows then is entirely unknown since the remainder of col. iii and much of col. iv are largely destroyed, except for a passage in which Dumuzi is addressing some individual or deity whom he is placing in charge over a city described as an "assembly" city, with instructions to refrain from certain actions (presumably) harmful to his wife.

In detail note the following: In col. i, lines 3 and 5, the translation assumes that *z u - e n* is for the usual *ḫ N . Z U*; in col. i, line 28, the partially destroyed second complex should be parallel in meaning to *N Í G - b à n - d a* of the preceding line; in col. i, line 30, the illegible verb should have a meaning parallel to *g ù b a - a - n - d é* of the preceding line; col. ii, line 9 might have been expected to end in *- e n* (parallel to the final *- e n* of the following line), but the traces do not point in this direction; in line 19, the translation assumes that the first complex should have ended in *- r a* (rather than *- d é*); in col. iv, line 10, the second complex might have been expected to contain the name of Dumuzi's mother, but the traces do not point in this direction; in col. iv, line 11, the second complex might be expected to contain the still

unknown name of Dumuzi's brother; in line 22 *ḫ n i n - é - g a l - l a* should refer to Inanna.

4. *TMH, N.F. III, No. 25*

Transliteration

obv.

1. ga-ša-an-mèn ša-ga-ma-ta u₄-zal-la-mu-dè
2. ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn ša-ga-ma-ta u₄-zal-la-mu-dè
3. u₄-zal-la-mu-dè e-ne-di-da-mu-dè
4. u₄-zal gi₆-di-a-šè li-du dug₄-ga-mu-dè
5. gaba mu-un-ri gaba mu-un-ri
6. ù-mu-un ku-li-an-na gaba mu-un-ri
7. ù-mu-un-e šu-ni-a šu im-ma-an-dù
8. ḫušumgal-an-na gú-mà-a gú-da ba-an-lá
9. me-a am šu-ba-mu-u₈ é-me-šè da-gen
10. ku-li-ḫ mu-ul-líl-lá šu-ba-mu-u₈ é-me-šè da-gen
11. ama-[mu] lul-la-šè ta-mu-na-ab-bé-en
12. ama-mu ḫga-ša-an-gal-e lul-la-šè ta-mu-na-ab-bé-en
13. mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu
14. ḫinanna lul-la-munus-e-ne mà-e ga-ri-ib-zu-zu
15. ma-la-mu sila-ùr-ra e-ne mu-di-ni-ib-df-b . .
16. šem- . . -FA e-ne-di-da GUB mu-di-ni-in-túm
17. i-lu-ni zé-ba-àm ad mu-ši-ib-sa₄
18. ḫúl-ḫúl-e zé-ba-àm u₄ mu-di-ni-ib-zal-e
19. ama-ugu-zu-ùr lul-la-šè za-e gub-bu-na-da
20. me-en-dè id₄-šè e-ne-šù-ud-bi-da-e
21. ki-ná-kù-dùg-nun-na . . ga-mu-ra-[ab]- . .
22. u₄-dùg nam-ḫé-a ḫúl-la ḫu-mu-e-dè-zal-e(?)
23. sa-gíd-da-àm
24. . . . sikil-mèn sila-sír-ra . . .
25. . . . -da u₄-da mu-e-da- . . .
26. . . . -im . . .

rev.

1. . . .
2. . . .
3. . . -ra-sù-ud(?) mu-un-ni- . . .
4. ká-ama-me-da nam-mi-DU
5. me-e ḫúl-la-ta (sic!) i-di-[di]-dè-en
6. ká-ga-sa-an-gal-la-da(?) nam-mi-DU
7. me-e ḫúl-la-da (sic!) i-di-di-dè-en
8. ama-mu-ra mu-lu e-ne-èm ḫu-mu-na-ab-bé
9. u₅(?)-šu-ur-me-a ki bí-sù-e
10. ama-mu-ga-ša-an-gal-ra mu-lu e-ne-èm ḫu-mu-ra-ab-bé
11. u₅(?)-šu-ur-me-a ki bí-sù-e
12. ki-tuš-a-ni ir-bi zé-ba-àm
13. e-ne-èm-mà-ni ám-ḫúl-ḫ[úl]-la-àm
14. ù-mu-un-mu úr-kù-ge ḫé-du₇
15. ḫama-ušumgal-an-na mí-ús-sá-ḫduen-na
16. en-ḫdumu-zi úr-kù-ge ḫé-du₇
17. ḫama-ušumgal-an-na mí-ús-sá-ḫduen-na
18. ù-mu-un-mu ḫé-ma-al-zu zé-ba-àm
19. edin-na ú-šim-zu ku₇-ku₇-dam
20. ḫama-ušumgal-an-na ḫé-ma-al-zu zé-ba-àm
21. edin-na ú-šim-zu ku₇-ku₇-dam
22. sa-gar-ra-àm tigi-ḫinanna-kam³⁵

³⁵ This text contains the following glosses, thus obv: i š - t u a m - š a - l i i - n a š u m - z u - l i - a (line 1), i - n a š u m - . . - š i ù - š u m . . . (line 4), . . . - z i (?) - i - n a - a n - n i (line 7), m i - n a i m - z a - . . - z i (line 11), l u (!) - . . . - k i (!) (line 13), i - n a r i - b i -

Translation

obv.

1. Last night, as I, the queen, was shining bright,
2. Last night, as I, the queen of heaven, was shining bright,
3. As I was shining bright, as I was dancing about,
4. As I was uttering a song at the brightening of the oncoming (?) night,
5. He met me, he met me,
6. The lord Kuli-Anna met me,
7. The lord put his hand into my hand,
8. Ušumgalanna embraced me.
9. "Come now(?), wild bull, set me free, I must go home,
10. Kuli-Enlil, set me free, I must go home,
11. What shall I say to deceive my mother!
12. What shall I say to deceive my mother Ningal!"
13. "Let me inform you, let me inform you.
14. Inanna, most deceitful of women, let me inform you:
15. 'My girl friend took me with her to the public square,
16. She entertained(?) me(?) there with music(?) and dancing,
17. Her chant, the sweet, she sang for me.
18. In sweet rejoicing I whiled away the time there'—
19. Thus deceitfully stand up to your mother,
20. While we by the moonlight indulge (our) passion,
21. I will [prepare] for you a bed pure, sweet, (and) noble
22. Will while away the sweet time (?) with you in joyful fulfillment."
23. It is a *sagidda*.
24. I, the maid, . . . in the . . . street,
25. . . . by day, I . . . ,
26. . . . ,

rev.

1. . . . ,
2. . . . ,
3. . . . ,
4. I have come to our mother's gate,
5. I, in joy I walk,
6. I have come to Ningal's gate,
7. I, in joy I walk.
8. To my mother he will say the word,
9. He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
10. To my mother Ningal he will say the word,
11. He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground,
12. He whose dwelling is fragrant,
13. Whose word brings deep joy.
14. My lord is seemly for(?) the holy lap,
15. Amaušumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin,
16. The lord Dumuzi is seemly for(?) the holy lap.
17. Amaušumgalanna, the son-in-law of Sin.

tim and im-làl-li-...-ki(?) (line 15), i-na....-me i-na me-lu-ul-tim (line 16)tim i-na az(?) -za-tim (line 17), i-na...-li-tim (line 18), i-na ri-ša-tim i-iš-me-li(?) -... (line 20), ...-u-š(?) -da-ti...di-ni... (line 21), li-.... (line 22), ...-ki-... (line 24); rev.: ...-za...-li-nu (line 9), ša...-di-a....-ma (line 13).

18. My lord, sweet is your increase,
19. Tasty your plants(and) herbs in the plain
20. Amaušumgalanna, sweet is your increase,
21. Tasty your plants (and) herbs in the plain.
22. It is a *sagarra*. A *tigi*-song of Inanna.

Commentary

The formal structure of this tender and ardent love song is rather unusual—it consists of two soliloquies by the goddess separated from each other by a brief *tête-a-tête* between the goddess and her lover Dumuzi; the first soliloquy and its ensuing *tête-a-tête* make up the first stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagidda*, while the second soliloquy takes up the entire second stanza, designated by the scribe as a *sagarra*. In Inanna's first soliloquy the goddess relates that one night, while she was innocently singing and dancing about, presumably in heaven, Dumuzi met her, held her hand, and embraced her. There follows a brief dialogue between them consisting of Inanna's plea to Dumuzi to let go of her since on coming home she will have to deceive her mother and she does not know how, and Dumuzi's suggestion to tell her mother that she whiled away the hours with a girl friend in the public square, an excuse that will enable them to spend the night making love by the moonlight. Inanna's second soliloquy which is rather elliptical and allusive, begins with an exulting pronouncement of her arrival at the "gate" of her mother Ningal accompanied by Dumuzi who "will say the word" to her, that is, no doubt, ask for her daughter's hand; it concludes with an ecstatic eulogy of her husband-to-be and the fertility insured by their sacred marriage.

In detail note the following: The first complex in line 4 is difficult and the suggested translation is not very satisfactory. Starting with line 6, we find Dumuzi called by different names, thus: Kuli-Anna (line 6), Ušumgalanna (line 8), Kuli-Enlil (line 10), and Amaušumgalanna (lines 15, 17, 20). In line 9, the translation "Come now" for *me-e-a* is a guess based on the context. To judge from line 14, Inanna had a long-standing reputation for deceit, a fact which might be surmised from Gilgameš' characterization of the goddess in Tablet VI of the Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš. The meaning of line 16 is quite uncertain and the translation is highly dubious. In line 20, the words "indulge (our) passion" attempts to render *e-ne-sù-u d-bi-da-e*, a complex (or perhaps two com-

plexes) which is difficult to analyze grammatically. In rev., line 4, it is difficult to see why the poet uses *m e* "our" instead of *- m u* "mine," in the first complex.

THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS:
RITE AND RITUAL

5. CT XLII, no. 4

Transliteration

obv., col. i

1. . . . gaba(?) -fl
2. é-urú-zé-ba šu-si-sá-a-b[i]
3. é-^dzuen-na(!)-ka u₄-zalag-ga-bi
4. é-an-na-ka urú-dù-a-bi
5. é-sag-bi-šè hé-rig
6. é-zi-da-mu dugu-ge i-im-dirig
7. mu inim-gar-šag₅-ga in-ga-àm
8. ki-ná-gi-rin-na zagin-si-ga-àm
9. ^dgibil éš-gal-la mu-ra-an-kù-kù-ga
10. mu-lú nam-ga-ša-an-e šu-gal-dù-a
11. ù-mu-un-na-ni mu-ra-an-si
12. é-gi-si-a-na mu-ra-ab-kù-ga šu-lu_h mu-ra-gá-gá
13. u₄ ba-an-ná u₄ ba-an-dug₄
14. u₄ ki-ná-a i-bí kár-kár-dam
15. u₄ ù-mu-un-e mí zi-zi-i-dam
16. ù-mu-un-ra nam-ti zé-è-m-mà-a
17. ù-mu-un-ra buru_x šibir si-mu-na-ab
18. al ba-an-dug₄ al ba-an-dug₄ ki-ná al ba-an-dug₄
19. ki-ná-ša-húl-la al ba-an-dug₄ ki-ná al ba-an-dug₄
20. ki-ná-úr-zé-ba al ba-an-dug₄ ki-ná al ba-an-dug₄
21. [k]i-ná-nam-lugal-la al ba-an-dug₄ ki-ná al ba-an-dug₄
22. [ki]i-ná-nam-nin-a al ba-an-dug₄ ki-ná al ba-an-dug₄
23. [zé-b]a-ni-da zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
24. [ki-ná]-ša-húl-la zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
25. [ki-ná]-úr-zé-ba zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
26. [ki-ná]-nam-lugal-la zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
27. [ki-ná-nam]-nin-a zé-ba-ni-da ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-da
28. [. . . ki-ná] mu-un-na-dag-ge ki-ná mu-un-na-
29. dag-ge
30. [. . . ki-ná mu-u]n-na-dag-ge ki-ná mu-un-na-
31. dag-ge

obv., col. ii

1. l[ugal]
2. ki-ág ki-ná-zé-ba-ni-šè gù mu-un-na-dé-e
3. inim-ti inim-u₄-su_x-rá gù mu-un-na-dé-e
4. ga-ša-an-šubur-ra sukkal-zi-é-an-na-ke₄
5. um-me-zi-da-na im-ma-an-dib
6. úr-ga-ša-an-na-šè hi-li-a mu-ni-ku₄
7. ù-mu-un-e ám-ša-ge ba-e-pà-da-zu
8. lugal-e nitalam-ki-ág-zu úr-kù-níg-dùg-zu u₄
9. bala-šag₅-ga pa-è si-mu-na-ab
10. ^{gi}gu-za-nam-lugal-la su_hus-ge-na-ba si-mu-na-ab
11. gidri-ukù-si-sá buru_x šibir si-mu-na-ab
12. aga-zi men-na-sag-dalla-a si-mu-na-ab
13. ^dutu-è-ta ^dutu-šú-šè
14. tumu_x-ulù-ta tumu_x-mir-ra-a-šè
15. a-ab-ba-igi-nim-ta a-ab-ba-sig-šè
16. ^{gi}ha-lu-úb(!)-ta ^{gi}erin-na-šè(!)
17. ki-en-gi ki-uri-a buru_x-šibir si-mu-na-ab(!)

18. sag-gíg-dúr-ru-na-bi nam-sipad-bi hé-ak-e
19. e-ne engar-gim gán hé-gá-gá
20. sipad-zi-gim amaš hé-im-mi-lu-lu
21. gu hé-en-da-gál še hé-en-da-gál
22. íd-da a-gu₄ hé-en-da-gál
23. a-ša-ga še-gu-nu hé-en-da-gál
24. ambar-ra ku₆ mušen KA hu-mu-da-ra-ra
25. mu-gi-e gi-sun gi-henbur hé-en-da-an-mú
26. an-edin-na ^{mu}maš-gúr hé-en-da-mú
27. tir-tir-ra šeg₉-šeg₉-bar hé-en-da-lu
28. pú-kiri₆ lál kurun hé-en-da-fl
29. mú-sar-ra hi-is^{sar} zà-hi-li^{sar} he-en-da-mú
30. é-gal-la zi-sù-u₄-gál hé-en-da-an-gál

rev., col. iii

1. ^{id}idigna(!)-^{id}buranun-na a-u₆-ba hu-mu-ni-ib-t[ú]m
2. gú-gú-ba ú hu-mu-ta-mú-mú a-gàr hé-en-si
3. gur₇-du₆-gur₇-maš kù-ga-ša-an-NIDABA-ke₄(!)
4. gú hu-mu-ni-gur-gur
5. ga-ša-an-mu nin-an-ki nin-an-ki-šú-a
6. ùr-[zu-šè] u₄ ha-ba-ni-ib-sù-e
7. lugal-úr-kù-šè s[ag]-fl-la mu-un-gen-né
8. úr-g[a(!)]-ša-an-na-kja-šè sag-fl-la mu-un-gen
9. lugal[sag-fl]l-la gen-né
10. nin(!)-mu-[ra sa]g-fl-la gen-né
11. . . . -ka-ta
12. mu(?) -g[i₆(!)]-ib(?) . . . gu-da mu-un]da-lá³⁶

Translation

obv., col. i

1. "
2. Of the house of Eridu—its guidance,
3. Of the house of Sin—its radiance,
4. Of the Eanna—its habitation(?);
5. The house—it has been presented (to you).
6. (In) my enduring house which floats like a cloud,
7. (Whose) name in truth, is a goodly vision,
8. (Where) a fruitful bed, lapis-bedecked,
9. Gibil had purified for you in the great shrine,
10. He who is well-suited for 'queenship,'
11. The lord has erected(?) his altar(?),
12. In his reed-filled(?) house which he has purified for you, he performs your rites.
13. The sun has gone to sleep, the day has passed(?),
14. As in bed you gaze (lovingly) upon him,
15. As you caress the lord,
16. Give life unto the lord,
17. Give the staff and crook unto the lord."
18. She craves it, she craves it, she craves the bed,
19. She craves the bed of the rejoicing heart, she craves the bed,
20. She craves the bed of the sweet lap, she craves the bed,
21. She craves the bed of kingship, she craves the bed,
22. She craves the bed of queenship, she craves the bed.
23. By his sweet, by his sweet, by his sweet bed,
24. By his sweet bed of the rejoicing heart, by his sweet bed,

³⁶ For the glosses in this text, cf. now Adam Falkenstein's review of the volume, *OLZ* (1961): 370.

25. By his sweet bed of the sweet lap, by his sweet bed,
26. By his sweet bed of "kingship," by his sweet bed,
27. By his sweet bed of "queenship," by his sweet bed,
- 28-29. He covers [the bed] ... for her, covers the bed for her,
- 30-31. He covers [the bed] ... for her, covers the bed for her.

obv., col. ii

1. [To] the k[ing],
2. The beloved(?) speaks on his sweet bed,
3. Speaks to him words of life, words of "long days."
4. Ninšubur, the trustworthy vizier of the Eanna,
5. Took him by his right forearm(?),
6. Brought him blissfully to the lap of Inanna:
7. "May the Lord whom you have called to (your) heart,
8. The king, your beloved husband, enjoy long days at your holy lap, the sweet,
9. Give him a reign favorable (and) glorious,
10. Give him the throne of kingship on its enduring foundation,
11. Give him the people-directing scepter, the staff (and) the crook,
12. Give him an enduring crown, a diadem which ennobles(?) the head,
13. From (where) the sun rises, to (where) the sun sets,
14. From south to north,
15. From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,
16. From (where grows) the *halub*-tree to (where grows) the cedar,
17. Over all Sumer and Akkad give him the staff (and) the crook,
18. May he exercise the shepherdship of the black-heads (wherever) they dwell,
19. May he make productive the fields like the farmer,
20. May he multiply the sheepfolds like a trustworthy shepherd,
21. Under his reign may there be plants, may there be grain,
22. At the river, may there be overflow,
23. In the field may there be late-grain,
24. In the marshland may the fish (and) birds make much chatter(?),
25. In the canebrake may the 'old' reeds, the young reeds grow high,
26. In the steppe may the *mašgur*-trees grow high,
27. In the forests may the deer and the wild goats multiply,
28. May the watered garden produce honey (and) wine,
29. In the trenches may the lettuce and the cress grow high,
30. In the palace may there be long life,

rev., col. iii

1. Into the Tigris and Euphrates may flood water be brought,
2. On their banks may the grass grow high, may the meadows be covered,

- 3-4. May the holy queen of vegetation pile high the grain heaps and mounds,
5. Oh my queen, queen of the universe, the queen who encompasses the universe,
6. May he enjoy long days [at your holy] lap."
7. The king goes with lifted head [to the holy lap],
8. He goes with lifted head to [the holy] lap [of Inanna],
9. The king going with [lifted head],
10. Going to my queen with lifted head,
11. From,
12. Embraces the hierodule

Commentary

This poem is an epithalamion in the Emesal dialect which is in some respects a companion piece to the last stanza of the Inanna hymn that celebrates the hieros gamos between Iddin-Dagan and goddess (see p. 490). The poet begins with an address, probably to the goddess Inanna, informing her that Gibil had purified for her "the great shrine" in her Eanna temple, and that the king had erected an altar and carried out the lustration rites for her (col. i, lines 10-12); this is followed by a prayer that in the evening when "the day had gone to sleep," and it was time for the goddess "to caress the lord" in the favored sleeping place, she should give the king life and the staff and crook (col. i, lines 13-17). The poet then sings of the preparation of the "sleeping place" of kingship and queenship which "rejoices the heart" and "sweetens the lap" (col. i, lines 18-31). After a break we find the king speaking "words of life, words of long days" to (probably) Inanna (col. ii, lines 1-3). Following which Ninšubur takes him by his right forearm(?), leads him to Inanna's lap, and asks her to bless him with everything essential for the well-being of the king and his people: a good reign, a firmly founded throne, a well-governing scepter, a staff and crook for the control of Sumer and Akkad and the lands beyond (col. ii, lines, 4-18); she should grant him, too, that "he (the king) like a farmer set the fields in order, like a faithful shepherd multiply the sheepfolds" (col. ii, lines 19-20); and that under his reign, the land should have all it needs: plants and grains, overflow by the rivers, late grain in the fields, fish and birds in the marshes, fresh and mature reeds in the canebrake, *mašgur*-trees in the plains, deer and wild-goats in the forest, honey and wine in the well-watered gardens, vegetables in the trenches (between the furrows), long life in the palace, high water brought by the Tigris and Euphrates to make verdant their banks and watered acres, grain heaps and mounds

piled high by the goddess Nidaba (col. ii, lines 18–col. iii, line 3). Following a further request by Ninšubur that the king be allowed to spend a long time in Inanna's lap (col. iii, lines 4–6), the king proceeds with "lifted head" to the lap of Inanna and is embraced by her (col. iii, lines 7–12). The remainder of the composition, which strangely enough, ends up in Akkadian (col. iv, line 1-end), has only the ends of the lines preserved, and little can be said about its contents.

6. CT XLII, No. 13

1. [di]-da-mu-[dè] di-da-mu-[dè]
2. ga-ša-an-ir₉-ra mu-lú-ù-?-šè mu-lu-ù(?) -dè
3. ga-ša-an-mèn abzu-šè di-da-mu-dè
4. ga-ša-an-na-mèn abzu-šè di-da-mu-dè
5. abzu é-nun-šè di-da-mu-dè
6. uru-zé-eb^{ki}-zé-eb-šè di-da-mu-dè
7. é-engur-ra-šè di-da-mu-dè
8. é-an-na-é-^dmu-ul-líl-lá-šè di-da-mu-dè
9. NE... -u₄-NE-šà-ge-a-ru-šè di-da-mu-dè
10. bur-gal-gal-an-ne-súg-ga-šè di-da-mu-dè
11. bur-...-sikal-e... -ág-gá-šè di-da-mu-dè
12. a...-a-zi... šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
13. [ù-mu]-un-^dam-an-ki šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
14. ^ddam-gal-nun-na... šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
15. ^dasar-lú-ḫi... šu-è-ba-šè di-da-mu-dè
16. ur mu-da-ri [pi]rig(?) mu-da-ri
17. ^{gi}taškarin mu-da-ri ^{gi}ḫa-lu-úb mu-da-ri
18. ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn tu₁₅-tur-tur-e šu i-im-ti
19. e-re₇-da-mu-dè e-re₇-da-mu-dè
20. a-è me-e gen-na a-è me-e gen-na
21. ga-ša-an-[mèn] ambar-ra di-da-mu-dè
22. ambar-ra... -bū-ḫu-bi me-e gen-na
23. ka-mè-ka di-da-mu-dè
24. u₄-u₄-u₄ è-a-bi gen-na
25. igi-mè-ka di-da-mu-dè
26. u₄-u₄ è-a-bi gen-na
27. egir-mè-ka ús-sa-mu-dè
28. iš(?)... -ḫul-gú(?) -zé-šè(?) gen-na
29. é-^dmu-ul-líl-lá ku₄-ra-mu-dè
30. munus-kur-ra diríg(!)-ga-bi gen-na
31. kur-kur-ra inim-me-ri ba-ni-in-ne
32. mu-u₄-da-na-mu igi-mà ba-e-tuš
33. é-di[ngir]-dingir(?) -re(?) -ne a-da-man mu-un-dè-ne
34. ^dutu-dè ^dnanna-dè a-da-man mu-dè-ne
35. ^daduš a-ab... kù-bi-ta a-da-man mu-dè-ne
36. íd-dè íd-dè íd-dirig-gim dam(?) -gim zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
37. íd-dè íd-nun-e íd-dirig-gim
38. íd-dè íd-buranun-na íd-dirig-gim
39. ... íd-buranun-na-ke₄(?) íd-dirig-gim
40. ... LI ...
41. ... mu-lu ... da... -gim(?)
42. [dam(?) -gim] zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
43. [^dam]-an-ki am-uru-zé-ba im-da-gen-na-gim
- 43a. [nin]-é-maḫ-a ^ddam-gal-nun-na im-da-gen-na-[gim]
44. ^dasar-lú-ḫi dumu-uru-zé-ba im-da-gen-na-gim
45. ^dmu-ul-líl-le mu-un-kú-a-gim mu-un-nag-a-gim

46. ... dam(?) -gim zé-eb uru-gim zé-eb ḫur-gim zé-eb nu-gál
47. a-... -NE-en šà-mu ba-ma-al
48. a-... zi-dè šu-e-ba-šè
49. a-... -lú-zi-dè šu bí-in-é-ba-a-šè
50. mu-lu-bi é-šà-ga ^{mu}ná-gi-rin-NE bí-in-ag
51. é-an-na-ka qada-lá-e na ba-e-na-ág
52. ù-mu-un-ra a mu-un-ma-al mu-na-ab-bé-ne
53. ninda mu-un-ma-al mu-un-na-ab-bé-ne
54. é-gal-la im-te-en mu-un-na-ab-bé-ne
55. ^ddumu-zi é-e-àm ki-àm zalag-zalag-ga
56. ama-^dinanna ama-^dinanna du₆-zu DÚ-zu
57. ama-^dinanna ^dinanna-dingir-an-na túg-zu túg-zu
58. túg-gig-zu túg-babbar-zu
59. mu-lu-é-a-gen-na-mu te-e-àm
60. i-lu te-àm ad-ša₄-šà-ba
61. me-e-bi te-àm me ba-tuš-ù-ne
62. ki-bi te-àm ki àm-gub-bu-ne
63. àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne
64. ^dmu-ul-líl ki-ùr-ra àm-mi-in-gub-bu-ne
65. am-igi-ka-na-ág-gá mu-lú-bi dè-en-ti
66. ág-ní-bi ág-ní-bi dè-ag
67. lú-bi é-nun-na inim-si-sá dè-bí-in-ag
68. a-bi é-gal-lá-ka inim-si-sá IM-bi-en-na
69. in-nin, ubur-zu gán -né-zu ḫé-a
70. ^dinanna ubur-zu gán-né-zu ḫé-a
71. gán-né-dagal-e gu-dé-a-zu
72. gán-né-dagal-e še-dé-a-zu
73. a-bala-a an-ta mu-lú ninda-a an-ta
74. a-bala-bala-a an-ta mu-lú ninda-ninda-a an-ta
75. mu-lu-dug-ga-ra ù-na-e-ni-...
76. ne-en ga-ra-nag-[na]g

Subscription

sir-nan-šub-^dinanna-[kam]³⁷

Translation

1. When I proceeded, when I proceeded,
2.
3. When I, the queen, proceeded to the Abzu,
4. When I, the queen of heaven, proceeded to the Abzu,
5. When I proceeded to the Abzu, the princely house,
6. When I proceeded to Eridu, the goodly,
7. When I proceeded to the *E-Engurra*,
8. When I proceeded to Enlil's house, Eanna,
9. When I proceeded to
10. When I proceeded to the large jars reaching heavenward,
11. When I proceeded to the .. jars by the pure ..
12. When I proceeded to the
13. When I proceeded to Enki who
14. When I proceeded to Damgalnunna who
15. When I proceeded to Asarlūhi who
16. I brought along a dog, brought along a lion(?),
17. I brought along boxwood, brought along *halub*-wood,
18. I, the queen of heaven, took along (?) the light winds.
19. When I go forward, when I go forward,
20. As one who brings forth water, I come, as one who brings forth water, I come.

³⁷ This text contains but one gloss: i - r a (line 2).

21. [I] the queen, as I proceed to the marshland,
22. Of the marshland as its . . . , I come.
23. When I proceeded to the "mouth" of the battle,
24. As one who brings forth its brightest light, I come.
25. When I proceeded to the front of the battle,
26. As one who brings forth its bright light, I come.
27. When I take my stand at the rear of the battle,
28. As one who . . . , I come.
29. When I enter Enlil's house,
30. As its outstanding "woman of the *kur*", I come.
31. I uttered angry words against the foreign lands,
32. Seated my husband before me,
33. Uttered a challenge in(?) the house of the gods(?),
34. Uttered a challenge against Utu, against Nanna,
35. Uttered a challenge against Sud
36. The river, the river—good like the vast river, like the . . . , good like the city—there is nothing so good,
37. The river, the princely river—(good) like the vast river,
38. The river, the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river
39. The . . of(?) the Euphrates—(good) like the vast river,
40. . . . ,
41. . . . who . . . like(?) . . . ,
42. Good like the . . , good like the city, there is nothing as good,
43. Like when Enki, the wild bull of Eridu has come with her,
- 43a. [Like] when the queen of the noble house, Damgalnunna has come with her,
44. Like when Asarluhi the son of Eridu has come,
45. Like when Enlil has eaten, has drunk,
46. . . . good like the . . , good like the city, there is nothing so good.
47. " . . . is in(?) my heart,
48. (When I had proceeded) to the . . . ,
49. (When I had proceeded) to the . . . ,
50. Its lord prepared a fresh(?) fruitful bed in the midst of the house."
51. In Eanna the "linen-wearers" prepared an altar for him,
52. Water was placed (there) for the lord, they speak to him,
53. Bread was placed (there), they speak to him,
54. He was refreshed in the palace, they speak to him:
55. "Dumuzi, radiant, in the palace (and) on earth,
56. Mother Inanna, mother Inanna, your (treasure) heap, your (treasure) heap(?),
57. Mother Inanna, goddess of heaven, your garment, your garment,
58. Your black garment, your white garment,
59. Oh my lord who has come to the house—approach her,
60. Approach her with a chant, a heart (moving) melody,
61. Approach their . . , the . . where they are seated,
62. Approach their place, the place where they are standing,
63. (Where) they have stationed, they have stationed,
64. (Where) they have stationed Enlil in the Kiur."
65. "Oh wild bull, 'eye' of the Land,

66. I would fulfill(?) all its needs(?),
67. Would make its lord carry out justice in the princely house,
68. Would make its seed . . justice in the palace."
69. "Oh lady, your breast is your field,
70. Inanna, your breast is your field,
71. Your wide wide field which 'pours out' plants,
72. Your wide field which 'pours out' grain,
73. Water flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread from on high,
74. Water flowing, flowing from on high—(for) the lord—bread, bread, from on high,
75. [Pour(?)] out for the 'commanded' lord,
76. I will drink it from you."
77. A *nam-šub*-song of Inanna.

Commentary

This rather obscure and heterogenous composition designated as a *sir-nam-šub* ⁴*inanna-kam*, is divided into four sections of uneven length. In the first, which consists entirely of a monologue by Inanna (lines 1–19), the goddess speaks of journeying to the Abzu, and to Eridu and its shrines and gods, bringing with her animals and trees. The second section, too, is a monologue by Inanna (lines 20–35). In it the goddess boasts of her prowess in battle and of uttering a challenge to Utu, Nanna, and Sud. The third section (lines 36–46) seems to be a narrative passage concerned primarily with the Euphrates whither Enki, Damgalnunna and Asarluhi had gone, presumably with Inanna, and where Enlil was eating and drinking. But it is the fourth section (lines 47–76) which, obscure as it is, is of no little significance for the Dumuzi-Inanna marriage ceremony. Following what seems to be a brief soliloquy by Inanna, concerned with the preparation of a marriage bed, presumably by the king (lines 47–50), the "linen wearers" address the king, before whom food and drink had been placed, as Dumuzi, announce to him in riddle-like phrases the presence of Inanna, and invite him to approach the goddess, as well as the place in the *kiur*-shrine where Enlil seems to have been stationed (lines 51–64). Inanna then seems to pronounce a prayer for the life and rule of the king (lines 65–67). The composition closes with a plea to Inanna, perhaps by the king himself, to give him her breast from which he will drink as a symbol of the fertility of the land (lines 69–76).

In detail, note the following: Line 2 is too obscure for a reasonable guess at the meaning. In line 8, the Eanna of Enlil seems to refer to a shrine located in Eridu, not in Erech. Line 12 is almost identical with lines 48–49; the first

complex should be an epithet of a deity, since it parallels the first complexes of the following lines. The meaning of šu-è/e-ba-šè (lines 12, 13, 14, 15, 48; cf. also line 49 where the complex seems to appear in the fuller form šu-bí-in-e-ba-šè) is obscure. Line 19, which ends the section, strangely enough, has no finite verbal form. The second section of the composition parallels to some extent *CT XLII*, No. 22, col. i, lines 1-15, which is also a sîr-nam-šub of Inanna, and in which Inanna speaks of journeying to the Abzu, of her entering the house of Enlil, and of her prowess in battle. The meaning and implication of the third section are quite obscure, and it is difficult to relate it to what precedes and follows. The same is true of the fourth section where the assumed shift of speakers (Inanna for lines 47-50; the "linen wearers" for lines 55-64; Inanna for lines 65-68; the king for lines 69-76) is far from assured, not to mention the numerous lexical and grammatical uncertainties which pervade the passage.

7. Ni 9602 (Figs. 3 and 4)

*Transliteration**obv., col. i*

1. kù-ga-a-àm
2. si-sá(?) -sá me-e
3. SAL-la -àm
4. -du₇ nam-nun-na .. -an-du₇
5. -GAM-e
6. igi-gá-gá
7. si-sá(?) -sá [me]-e
8. šu ba-....
9.
10.
11. -mu SAL-la-mu ma(?) ...
12. an-e ba-ab-du₇-a-mu
13. dúr(?) -ra-mu(?)
14. -ir-tab-dar-a(?) -mu
15. zé(?) -dúr(?) -ra-mu
16. -e mar-ra-mu
17. dug₄-ga(?) -mu
18. é-gal-me-te-mu
19. ... -ma-za u₄-zal-la-mu
20. SAL ... -PA-za gir-tag-ga-àm
21. ^ddumu-zi ... -a é(?) -e mi-ni-in-ga-ga
22. uku-šár-re-da i-bí-mu mu-ma-al
23. ^ddumu-zi nam-dingir-kalam-ma-šè mu-pàd
24. ^ddumu-zi ki-ig-ga-ág-^dmu-ul-líl-lá-ra
25. ama-mu sag-uš mu-na-kal
26. ad-da-mu di-e-eš mu-un-na-e
27. a mu-ši-tu₅ na-ma mu-ši-su-ub
28. kuš(?) -a-tu₅-a kada ù-mu-ši-túm
29. túg-mu túg-ág-kalag-ga-gim si ba-sá-e
30. ^{túg}pala₂-maḥ mu-na-kalag-ge-en
31. ... [zag]-è-bi-šè ma-ma-ma-an

32. búr-búr-re-šè

33. ba(?) ...

34.

(about 7 lines destroyed)

obv., col. ii

1. nin(?)
2. ... bar é(?) ... za-gin AN
3. é(?) -èš-mu a-ra-zu(?) -a mu-ni- ...
4. kù a-ra-zu-a mi-
5. ... lirum₂-ga-ša-an-an-na me-[e]
6. gala-e sir-ra mu-ni-ib-[pàd(?) -dè]
7. nar-e li-du .. mu-ni-ib-[túm(?)]
8. mu-ud-na-mu mu-da-an-[húl(?) -le(?)]
9. am-^ddumu-zi mu-da-an-[húl(?) -le(?)]
10. KA an-tuku-e KA KA ki
11. ... AN ... -tur mu-ni-ib[] ..
12. -zi-zi nibru (!) ^[ki]
13. -mar dumu ^dn[in]-
14. kur(?) - .. nin-e ... di-e-[eš mu-un-na-e]
15. gala-e sir-ra m[u-ni-ib-pàd(?) -dè]
16. ^dinanna-ke₄ di-e-eš [mu-un-na-e]
17. SAL-la-ni sir-ra mi-ni- ...
18. SAL-la nîg- .. ne-en KAK
19. si-gim ^{gi}mar-gal-e
20. má-an-na ne-en eše-lá-
21. u₄-sar-gibil-gim ḥi-li-
22. ki-gal₈ ne-en edin-na
23. a-šà(?) uz^{mu}šen ne-en uz^{mu}šen ba(?) -
24. a-šà(?) -an-na ne-en a-ma-ra-mu
25. ma-a SAL-la-mu du₆-du₅-du₈-a ma-a-ra
26. ki-sikil-mèn a-ba-a ur_x-ru-a-bi
27. SAL-la-mu ki-duru₅- .. a-ma-ra
28. ga-ša-an-mèn gu₄ a-ba-a bí-ib-gub-bé
29. in-nin₉ lugal-e ḥa-ra-an-ur_x-ru
30. ^ddumu-zi lugal-e ḥa-ra-ur_x-ru
31. [SAL-la]-mà ur_x-ru mu-lu-šà-ab-mà-kam
32. ... úr-kù-ge a ba-an-tu₅-tu₅
33. [^dnin-é-gal] kù-ga-àm
34.

(about 3 lines destroyed)

rev., col. iii

1. ^dnin-é-gal kù-ga-à[m]
2. -mà
3. nun-bi(?)
4. -e dam(?)
5. -la-
6.
7. egir-bi
8. ... -bi(?) pa-pa-al-
9. úr-lugal-la-kam erin(?) -zi-ga ...
10. gu mu-un-da-zi še mu-un-da-zi
11. GABA-a-kiri₅ kiri₃-zal-gim mu-un-da-ab-si
12. é-nan-ti-la é-lugal-la-ka
13. nitalam-a-ni ul-la mu-un-da-an-tuš
14. é-nam-ti-la é-^ddumu-zi-da-ka
15. ^dinanna ul-la mu-un-da-an-tuš
16. ^dinanna é-a-ni ḥúl-la-e
17. lugal-ra ù-gul mu-na-gá-gá
18. ga sig₇-a-ma-ab mu-ud-na-mu ga sig₇-[a-ma-ab]
19. mu-ud-na-mu me-e ga-NE e-da- ...
20. am-^ddumu-zi-dè ga sig₇-a (!) -ma-[ab]
21. mu-ud-na-mu me-e ga-NE e-[da]-
22. ga -uz-da-ke₄ amaš

1. The queen(?) . . . ,
 2. . . . the house(?) . . . lapis lazuli . . . ,
 3. My house(?) (and) shrine in prayer(?) . . . ,
 4. In holy prayer, . . . ,
 5. I am . . . the queen of heaven,
 6. The *gala* chants there (his) song,
 7. The singer brings (his) . . . hymn,
 8. My bridegroom [rejoiced] by my side,
 9. The wild bull Dumuzi [rejoices(?)] by my side."
 10. Who has . . . ,
 11. The little . . . ,
 12. . . . Nippur . . .
 13. . . . the son of . . .
 14. The . . . , the queen . . . ex[alts(?) him],
 15. The *gala* [chants there] (his) song,
 16. Inanna exa[alts] him,
 17. [Composes(?) a] song about her vulva:
 18. The vulva, it is . . . ,
 19. Like a horn it . . . at the large wagon,
 20. It is the "Boat of Heaven," fastening ropes . . . ,
 21. Like the new crescent, passion . . . ,
 22. It is fallow land, in the plain . . . ,
 23. It is a field(?) which the *uz*-bird . . . the uz-bird,
 24. It is a high(?) field(?), my . . .
 25. As for me(?), my vulva is a . . . hillock,—for(?)
me(?),
 26. I, the maid, who will be its plower?
 27. My vulva is . . . wet ground for(?) me(?),
 28. I, the queen, who will station there the ox?"
 29. "Lady, the king will plow it for you,
 30. Dumuzi, the king, will plow it for you."
 31. "Plow my vulva, my sweetheart."
 32. [Inanna] bathed (her) holy lap,
 33. Ninegal, the holy . . . ,
- (about three lines destroyed)

obv., col. iii

1. Ninegal, the holy . . . ,
2. . . . ,
3. . . . its(?) prince . . . ,
4. . . . the wife(?) . . . ,
5. . . . ,
6. . . . ,
7. Its back(?) . . . ,
8. Its(?) . . , the young shoot . . . ,
9. At the lap of the king, the high-standing cedar . . . ,
10. The plants stood high by (his) side, the grain stood high by (his) side,
11. The . . garden flourished luxuriantly by his side.
12. In the house of life, the house of the king,
13. His wife dwelt by (his) side in joy,
14. In the house of life, the house of the king,
15. Inanna dwelt by (his) side in joy.
16. Inanna rejoicing in his house,
17. Utters a plea to the king:
18. "Make yellow the milk for me, my bridegroom, make yellow the milk [for me],
19. My bridegroom, I will [drink] with you the fresh(?) milk.
20. Wild bull Dumuzi, make yellow the milk for me,
21. My bridegroom, I will [drink with you] the fresh(?) milk.
22. The milk of the goat [make flow(?) in] the sheepfold for me,
23. With the . . cheese fill(?) my holy churn,
24. Dumuzi, the milk . . , the . . 'cheese of heaven,'
25. Of the . . 'cheese of heaven,' its milk . . . ,
26. Its cream is good beer . . . ,
27. Lord Dumuzi, I will [drink] with you the fresh(?) milk.
28. My husband, the goodly storehouse, the sheepfold(?) . . . ,
29. I, Inanna, will preserve for you,
30. I will [watch] over your house of life.
31. The brilliant, the place which enraptures the Land,
32. The house where the fate of all the lands is decreed,
33. Where the breath of life is ordained for the people,
34. I, Ninegal, will preserve it for you,
35. I will watch over your house of life.
36. The house of life, the storehouse which gives long life,

obv., col. iv

1. [I, Inanna will] preserve [for you],
2. [I will watch over your house of life]."
- (four lines destroyed)
7. The heart . . . ,
8. The house . . . ,
9. Ningal speaks up with authority (saying):
10. "I will give you life unto distant days;"
11. Dumuzi, the desire and love of Inanna,
12. I will preserve it for you,
13. I will watch over your house of life.
14. The house whose awesomeness covers the land,
15. The house in whose midst are the holy rites,
16. The house whose . . . are most becoming,
17. . . . with cream, beer, cheese, (and) fat,

18. . . . I will station for you there."
19. She acts (?) . . . at . . . ,
20. In her filling . . . ,
21. . . . of his queen,
22. The beloved of . . . ,
23. . . . in its might,
24. . . .
25. . . .
26. . . .
27. . . .
28. [A *balbale*(?) of Inanna.

Commentary

The contents of this myth, inscribed on a four-column tablet of which little more than half is preserved, may be tentatively sketched as follows: The text begins with a long monologue by Inanna in which, following a fragmentary, obscure passage (col. i, lines 1-21), she proceeds to recount her appointment of Dumuzi to the "godship" of Sumer, her bridal preparations for the ensuing marriage, and the singing and rejoicing which accompanied their union (col. i, line 22-col. ii, line 9). The text continues with a brief and fragmentary narrative passage ending with a statement by the poet that Inanna composed a song to her vulva (col. ii, lines 9-17). The song itself follows (col. ii lines 18-28); Inanna compares her vulva to, among other things, fallow land, a field, and a hillock, and ends by asking who will plow it for her. To this query comes the answer given probably by Dumuzi himself, that it is he, the king Dumuzi, who will plow it for her (col. ii, lines 29-30), and, accordingly, in the very next line Inanna urges him to do so. Following another fragmentary passage pertaining to the sexual union of the couple (col. ii, lines 32 ff.) comes a detailed description of the ensuing vegetation (col. iii, lines 1(?) -11). After which, Inanna, now dwelling joyfully by Dumuzi's side in the palace, "the house of life," utters a plea to the king to supply her with rich fresh milk, cheese, and cream, and makes him the reassuring promise, reiterated again and again, that she will watch over and preserve the palace and its prosperity (col. iii, line 12-col. iv, line 18; note especially that Ninegal in col. ii, line 33, col. iii, lines 1 and 34, refers to Inanna, while Ningal in col. iv, line 9, refers to Inanna's mother, who is presumably pronouncing a blessing on Dumuzi, although it is difficult at present to fit this into the context; note also the seemingly unjustified omission of *igi* in col. iii, line 30 and col. iv, line 13). The myth ends with what is probably

a narrative passage, but the text is fragmentary and unintelligible.

THE SACRED MARRIAGE TEXTS: LOVE SONGS

8. N 3560 and N 4305 (Fig. 5)

Transliteration

obv.

1. sīg-mu ḥi-is^{sar}-àm a im-[ma-an-dug₄]
2. ḥi-is-u(?) -mun(?)^{sar}-àm a im-[ma-an-dug₄]
3. su-ḥu-uh-PŪ-bé ba-tag-tag-[ge]
4. umme-da-mu mah mu-un- . . .
5. sīg-mu a-a-lum im-mi-in-ag
6. muš-tur-tur-bi mu-un-dub-dub
7. ḥe-im-du-mu si im-sá-sá-e
8. ḥe-im-du sīg-mu ḥi-is^{sar} sar-šag₅-šag₅-ga-àm
9. šeš-e igi-bar-lú-ti-la-na im-ma-ni-in-ku₄-re-en
10. dš^u-d^uzen . . . lú-šag₅-ga im-ma-ni-in-pàd-dè-en
11. . . . nu-[ti(?)]-le-dam
12. . . . -re-dam

rev.

(about 5 lines destroyed)

18. ù-mu-un-me ḥe-me-en ù-mu-un-me ḥe-[me]-en
19. kù-na^{za}-gin-na ù-mu-un-me ḥe-me-en
20. mu-un-kar še(?) -mah-gub(?) -me ḥe-me-en
21. igi-mà lâl-bi-im šà-mà ḥi-(is)^{sar}-bi-im
22. u₄-nam-ti-la ḥe-en-na-è dš^u-d^uzen-mu . . .
23. bal-bal-e-dⁱⁿanna-kam³⁹

Translation

1. My hair is lettuce, [planted(?)] by the water,
2. It is *umun*-lettuce [planted(?)] by the water,
3. Its . . . is . . .
4. My nurse has . . . high,
5. Has made my hair into(?) a . . .
6. Has piled up its small locks (?),
7. My attendant(?) arranges it,
8. The attendant(?) (arranges) my hair which is lettuce, the most favored of plants.
9. The brother brought me into his life-giving gaze(?),
10. Šu-Sin has called me to (his) refreshing . . .
11. . . . without [end(?)],
12. . . .

rev.

(about 5 lines destroyed)

18. You are our lord, you are our lord,
19. Silver (and) lapis lazuli—you are our lord,
20. Farmer who makes the grain stand high—you are our lord
21. For him who is the honey of my eye, who is the lettuce of my heart,
22. May the days of life come forth, [may] my Šu-Sin . . .
23. A *balbale* of Inanna.

³⁹ This text contains but one gloss: ri-u-m- . . -u n (?) - z a (line 3).

Commentary

This text which is based primarily on N 3560 (N 4305 has only the initial signs of the first three lines, *cf.* obv. lines 10–12) is probably a song chanted by a *lukur*-priestess to Šu-Sin, such as the texts listed in note 23. For the tentative restoration of the verb in lines 1–2, *cf.* text No. 9, lines 1 ff. (note that in line 2, N 4305 seems to omit - i s - u (?) - m u n (?) after ḥ i -). In line 5, the meaning of the word a - a - l u m (assuming that the word division is correct) is unknown. In line 7, the translation “attendant” for ḥ é - i m - d u , assumes a literal translation “let him come.” In lines 9–10, note the epithet “brother” for Šu-Sin, instead of a word such as “bridegroom” or “lover.” In line 10, the second complex should end in - n a if the tentative translation is correct. In line 19, Šu-Sin seems to be identified metaphorically with silver and lapis lazuli.

9. TRS XV, No. 20 and UET VI, No. 121

Transliteration

1. ba-lum ba-lum-lum ḥi-is^{sar}-àm a ba-an-dug₄
2. kiri₅-MI-edin-na-gú-gar-gar-ra-na šag₅-ga-AMA-na-mu
3. še-ab-sin-ba-ḥi-li-a-dirig-mu ḥi-is^{sar}-àm a ba-an-dug₄
4. ḥaš^{ur}-ām-sag-gá-gurun-íl-la-mu kiri₅-àm a ba-an-dug₄
5. lú-lâl-e lú-lâl-e mà-a mu-ku₇-ku₇-dè-en
6. en-mu lú-lâl-e-dingir-ra šag₅-ga-AMA-na-mu
7. šu-ni-lâl-e gir-ni-lâl-e mà-a mu-un-ku₇-ku₇-dè-[en]
8. à-š^u-gír-ni-lâl-ku₇-ku₇-dam mà-a mu-un-ku₇-ku₇-[dè-en]
9. li-dur(?) -š^u-nigin-tukun-ku₇-ku₇-mu š[ag₅-ga-AMA-na-mu]
10. ḥaš₄-šag₅-šag₅-AMA(?) -na(?) -e-ru-mu ḥi-is^{sar}-àm [a ba-an-dug₄]
11. 2 bal-bal-e-dⁱⁿanna-[kam]

Translation

1. He has sprouted (?), he has burgeoned (?) he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water,
2. My (?) well-stocked garden of the . . . plain, my favored of the womb (?),
3. My grain proliferous in its furrow—he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water,
4. My apple tree which bears fruit up to (its) top—he is lettuce planted (?) by (?) the water.
5. The “honey-man,” the “honey-man” sweetens me ever,
6. My lord, the “honey-man” of the gods, my favored of the womb(?),
7. Whose hand is honey, whose foot is honey, sweetens me ever,

9. My sweetener of the ... navel (?), [my favored of the womb(?)]
10. My of the fair thighs, he is lettuce [planted by the water]
11. 2 *balbale* of Inanna.

Commentary

The text is based on TRS XV, No. 20; UET VI, No. 121 begins perhaps with line 4, but seems to omit lines 5 and 9. The recognizable variants are: m à - e for m à - a in lines 5, 7, 8; d a for - d è - e n at the end of lines 5, 7, 8; l à l - e for l à l and - d è for - d a m in line 8; ḫ i^{sar} (sic! not ḫ i - i s^{sar}) for ḫ a š a (?) - and ḫ i - i s^{sar} in line 10. In this song, the goddess Inanna, or one of her *lukur*-priestesses seems to identify Dumuzi, or more probably the king Šu-Sin, in the role of Dumuzi, with the lettuce plant, in particular, and productive vegetation in general. In line 1, TRS XV, No. 20 erroneously omits the second - l u m in the second complex. In line 2, the translation assumes that the - n a at the end of the first complex is a scribal error for - m u, and that A M A is probably to read a g a r i n. In line 6, the - e of l ú - l à l - e seems quite unjustified, and the transliteration and translation of the complex may well be erroneous. In line 11, note that the number 2 refers to the fact that TRS XV, No. 20 is inscribed with two *balbale*-poems, one is a hymn to the goddess Ninkasi (lines 1-65), and the other is our "lettuce" song (lines 65-75).

10. UM 29-16-8 and Ni 4552 (Figs. 6, 7, and 8)

Transliteration

(about 11 lines destroyed)

12.[à]m
13.[m]u
14.[s]ig₇-sig₇-dè-en
15.
16.-mu-dè
17.-mu-dè
18. é[da-mu-dè]
19.
20.[ma]-ra-an-daḫ
21.ḫi-li-ág-ku₇-ku₇-dam
22. kù-ga-ša-an-na-mu ág-šè ma-ra-an-ba
23. ki-ga-i-bí-mu ma-ra-mu-dè
24. mu-lu ki-ig-ág-mu gaba im-ma-an-ri
25. ḫi-li mu-e-ši-in-te aš mu-e-da-ḫúl
26. šeš-e é-ni-a im-ma-ni-in-ku₄-re-en
27. ^{mu}ná-lál-pú-ba bí-in-ná-e
28. zé-ba-kal-la-mu šà-ab-mu a-ba-ná
29. aš-aš-ta eme-ag aš-aš-ta
30. šeš-i-bí-šag₆-šag₆-mu 50-àm mu-un-ag
31. lú-si-ga-gim mu-na-dè-ḫu
32. ki-ta-tu₄u₄-e-da SI. A mu-na-ni-in-gar

33. šeš-mu íb-ba-na šu gub-bu-dè
34. zé-ba-kal-la-mu u₄ mu-un-di-ni-ib-zal-e
35. šu-ba-àm-mu-u₈ nin₉-mu šu-ba-àm-mu-u₈
36. ḫu nin₉-ki-ág-mu é-gal-la ga-du
37. igi ad-da-mu dumu-tur ḫé-me-en
38. ...-ba... lú ḫa-ba-zu šu ba-e(?) -ri-ši-bar-re
39. bal-bal-e^dinanna-kam

(This line seems to be followed by two scratched in signs which probably have no relation to our text)

Translation

(about 11 lines destroyed)

12. "...."
13. [M]y
14. I shall beautify
15.
16. When I
17. When I
18. When I
19.
20. Have added
21., sweet allure,
22. My holy Inanna, I presented to you."
23. "As I .. the beloved of my eye,
24. My beloved met me,
25. Took his pleasure of me, rejoiced together(?) with me.
26. The brother brought me to his house,
27. Made me lie on its .. honey bed,
28. My precious sweet, having lain by my heart,
29. In unison, the "tongue-making" in unison,
30. My brother, of fairest face, made 50 times.
31. I .. for him like a weakling(?)
32. I set it up for him in the .. together with ... from the earth,
33. My brother who .. in his anger,
34. My precious sweet is sated with me."
35. "Set me free, my sister, set me free,
36. Come, my beloved sister, I would go to the palace,
37. You will be a little daughter before my father,
38. I(?) will set free for you"
39. A *balbale* of Inanna.

Commentary

The transliteration is based primarily on UM 29-16-8; Ni 4552 begins with line 26, and has the following variants: - e n for - e, (the last sign in line 27); m u - l ú for l ú and [m u - u] n - for m u - (line 31); m u - u n - for m u - (line 32); in line 35 read: n i n - m u š u - b a - m u - u₈ š u - b a - [m u - u₈]; é - m e - š è for é - g a l - l a (line 36); - m à for - m u (line 37); in line 38 there seems to be nothing missing between - b a and l ú. This poem consists of several speeches, but is quite uncertain where each begins and ends. Thus line 22 seems to end the address of some deity to Inanna. Lines 23-34, on the other hand, seem to contain a siliiloquy uttered by Inanna in which she de-

scribes her meeting with the brother-lover (that is presumably Dumuzi), and their prolonged love-making. Lines 35–38 seem to contain an address by the “brother” to Inanna in which he begs her to let go of him so that he might return to the palace and (presumably) his royal duties. Unfortunately, the text contains many ambiguous and obscure passages, and the interpretation here presented may turn out to be completely erroneous.

11. *UET VI*, Nos. 121 and 122, N 4305 (plate 5) and Ni 4569 (Fig. 9)

Transliteration

1. . . -lam-lam-ma
2. šà(!) i-bi-šag₅- ad mu
3. šeš-me hé-me-en . . -[me] hé-[me-en]
4. šeš-dag-é-gal-la hé-[me-en]
5. ù-mu-un-si-má-gur-me hé-m[e-en]
6. nu-banda-^{gi}gigir(!)-ra-me hé-me-en
7. iš-^{gi}gigir(!)-sar-ra-me hé-me-en
8. ad-da-uru-di-ku₅-ru-me hé-me-en
9. mí-ús-sá-ad-da-me hé-me-en
10. šeš mí-ús-sá-ad-da-me hé-me-en
11. mí-ús-sá gú-zi-bi-me hé-me-en
12. ama-me níg-zé-ba hé-me-da-ab-dug₄
13. im-ma-gen-na-zu na-áni-ti na-nam
14. é-ku₄-ra-zu hé-gál-la
15. da-ná-da húl-la-dirig-mu
16. zé-ba-mu ba-ná-[da] zé(!)-ba-an-zé-è-m-i-NE-
17. bal-bal^dianna-kam]

Translation

1.
2. The heart (?) of
3. You are our brother, [you are our] . . .
4. [You are] the . . . brother of the palace
5. You are our *ensi* of the *magur*-boat,
6. You are our *nubanda* of the chariot,
7. You are our . . . of the . . . chariot,
8. You are our city father and judge,
9. You are the son-in-law of our father,
10. Brother, you are the son-in-law of our father,
11. You are our most prominent of the sons-in-law,
12. Our mother provides you with all that is good,
13. Your coming is life,
14. Your entering the house is abundance,
15. Lying with you is the greatest joy,
16. My sweet,
17. A *balbale* of Inanna.

Commentary

The text of this poem is based primarily on *UET VI*, No. 122, a small tablet inscribed with this poem only; lines 3–14 are duplicated by *UET VI*, No. 121 (obv.), a tablet which had

contained at least two different songs (cf. Text No. 9); lines 3–16 are duplicated by Ni 4569, a tablet in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient (copied by Muazzez Çiğ of the Istanbul Museum) which had originally contained a collection of (probably) four different poems; lines 9–17 are duplicated by N 4305 (plate 5) obv. col. ii, lines 1–9. The textual variants are: GIR₅ in *UET VI*, No. 121 for NE-DU in line 9 (note that in Ni 4569 this line is probably to be restored to read [mí-ús-sá ninda 5 mí]-ús-sá ninda 10; for the expressions ninda 5 and ninda 10, cf. e.g. *SRT* No. 5 lines 23–24); in line 12, N 4305 inserts e-ne after ama-me; the verb hé-me-da-a-b-dug₄ is found only in Ni 4569 (*UET VI*, No. 122 has hu-mu-gál . . .); in line 13, N 4305 omits the -na- preceding -zu, *UET VI*, No. 121 has nam-for na-ám-; in line 14, N 4305 adds -a after é-, and Ni 4569 has hé-ma-a-l-la for hé-gál-la; in line 16 Ni 4569 reads: . . . -ni-i-b- . . . -bé-en-dè-en for the unintelligible zé(?) ba-a-n-zé-è-m-i-NE . . . of *UET VI*, No. 122; the subscription bal-bal-[^dianna-kam] is found only in N 4305.

The poem seems to consist of a song chanted by a group of *lukur*-priestesses in the palace probably to Šu-Sin, although the name of the king is not mentioned in the text. In lines 3–4 note that the king is called “brother,” although he is described as “son-in-law” in lines 9 ff. Lines 5–7 are presumably titles describing the activities of the king in connection with certain religious rites. In line 10, “our father” would refer to the god Sin, if the singers are speaking for the goddess Inanna. In line 12 “our mother” may refer to Sin’s wife, Ningal.

NEW TEXTS FOR “INANNA’S DESCENT
TO THE NETHER WORLD”

The tablets and fragments which have become available since 1951 are as follows: Ni 4187 and Ni 9838 (see plates 8 and 9), *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 (see plates 10 and 11), *CT XLII*, No. 2, *UET VI*, Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 (see below), 3 NT 211, 400, 499 (unpublished).⁴⁰ Of these, the

⁴⁰ 3 NT 211 is a small fragment which duplicates lines 66–81 of the myth; 3 NT 400 is a tablet whose obverse duplicates lines 288–317 and whose reverse duplicates lines 324–355; 3 NT 499 is a small tablet whose obverse duplicates lines 79–93, and whose reverse duplicates lines 114–120. Except for some minor variants, however, these pieces add nothing to the text of the myth.

two small fragments Ni 4187 and Ni 9838 are of very special importance since they join Ni 4200 and Ni 2762 respectively,⁴¹ and the resulting fuller text, when combined with the recently published fragment *CT XLII*, No. 2,⁴² the closing lines of *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2,⁴³ and the relevant parts of *UET VI*, Nos. 8 and 10, helps to restore practically in their entirety lines 224–263, which were still missing in large part in the 1951 edition of the myth. Following is a transliteration and translation of this now restorable passage:

1. Transliteration⁴⁴

224. gen-na-an-zé-en gir kur-šè ná-ba-an-zé-en
225. ^{gi}ig num-gim ù-mu-un-dal-dal-zé-en

⁴¹ For these two fragments, cf. *PAPS* 85, 3 (1942): plate 8. The “join” of Ni 4187 to Ni 4200 was recognized by F. R. Kraus in the course of cataloguing the Nippur material in the Istanbul Museum of the Ancient Orient where he was curator of the tablet collections for a number of years before the Second World War; the “join” of Ni 9838 to Ni 2762 was recognized by the writer when he copied the piece in Istanbul about ten years ago.

⁴² The first two lines on this fragment correspond to lines 221–222 of the myth; line 3, however corresponds, strangely enough, to line 244, while there is no line corresponding to line 223.

⁴³ This is a four-column tablet which originally contained the first 233 lines of the myth: col. i=lines 3–38; col. ii=lines 55–94; col. iii=lines 121–168; col. iv=lines 183–233. The text has a number of variants; for the most important, cf. *TMH N.F. III* pp. 9–10; others are mentioned in connection with the discussion of the restored passage and the *UET VI* texts discussed later.

⁴⁴ The text of the passage has been restored as follows: Ni 4187+Ni 4200 (=A), obv. 17-end of rev.=lines 224–247; *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 (=B), col. iv=lines 224–233; *CT XLII*, No. 2 (=C) obv. 5–8=lines 224–227, rev.=lines 247–251; Ni 9838+Ni 2762(=D) obv. 1–17=lines 247–263; *UET VI*, No. 10 (=E) obv. 1–8=lines 253–263; *UET VI*, No. 8 (=F) rev. 3–11=lines 257–263. In detail, note the following: In line 224, C inserts *ka la tur-kur-gar-ra* following *gen-na-an-zé-en*. In line 225 the text is based on B; A has -a following ^{gi}ig and *dal-dal-[e-b]i-en-zé-en* as the verb while C reads *dal-dal-bi-ib-zé-en* (there is another -en in the copy, but this is quite unjustified). In line 226 B omits -a in the first complex; the verbal form is based on B (A has *gur-gur-re-bi-[e]n-zé-en*, and C has *gur-gur-mu-....*). In line 229, A has -na for -ni in the first complex. In line 230, A has -na for -gim in the second complex. In line 234, the restoration of the verb is based on line 236. In line 235 the restoration of the first complex is based on line 233. In line 237 a-ba-àm is restored from line 259 (note that the traces in A, however, do not point to -àm). The verbal form in line 238 is difficult to restore from the extant traces, it is probably identical with that of line 260, and we can therefore utilize not only A which has at this point only the sign *ka* followed by what looks like *é*, but also D which has *ba-e-ne-....-en*, E which

226. za-ra-a šid-gim ù-mu-un-gur-gur-re-en-zé-en
227. ama-gan-a nam-dumu-ne-ne-šè
228. ^{dereš}ki-gal-la-ke₄-i-ná ku₄-ra-àm
229. ħur-kù-ga-ni kada nu-un-búr
230. gaba-ni bur-šagan-gim nu-un-BU
231. ... -ni ^{urudulul}bi-gim an-da-gál
232. síg-ni garaš^{gar}-gim sag-gá-na mu-un-tuku-tuku
233. ù-u₈ a-šà-mu dug₄-ga-ni
234. [kúš]-ù-me-en nin-me a-šà-zu [dug₄-ga-na-ab-zé-en]
235. [ù-u₈] a-bar-mu dug₄-ga-ni
236. [kúš]-ù-me-en njin-me a-bar-zu dug₄-ga-na-ab-zé-en
237. [a-ba-àm] za-e-me-en-zé-en
238. šà-[mu-ta] šà-zu-šè bar-mu-ta bar-[zu-šè ba-e-ne]-dug₄-[en(?)-zé-en]
239. [dingir-ĥé-me-en-zé-en] inim ga-mu-[ra-an-dug₄-en-zé-en]
240. [lú-lu₆ ĥé-me-en-zé-en nam-zu ga-mu-ri]-ib-tar-[en-zé-en]
241. [zi-an-na zi-ki-a p]ād-bé-[en-zé-en]
242. ... -[na]-ab-zé-en
243. [id a-ba mu]n-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-[ba]-bu-i-en-zé-en

has -bi(?) .. -ab-...., and F, which seems to have -bi-en-zé-en. For lines 239–240 see comment to lines 261–262. For line 241 cf. comment to line 263, but note that the traces in A do not point to this restoration, and that moreover A seems to insert here another line which has no counterpart in the passage describing the execution of Enki's instruction (that is, there seems to be no such line following line 263). In line 243 the restoration *id a-ba* was chosen, although at this point A has a [*id-bi*] (cf. also E obv. 9), in order to keep it parallel to a-šà šè-ba of the line following. In line 249 the -zé-en of the verb is no doubt an error for -e-š (the text is based on C); in D, too, some error is involved since the verbs seem to have the form of an imperative reading [*dal-dal-bi-ib-zé-en* and *gur-gur-re-bi-ib-zé-en*]. Between lines 254 and 255 E inserts one double line which is largely illegible, and another double line corresponding to lines 231 and 232. In lines 255 and 257, the first complex is restored to correspond to lines 233 and 235, but note that E has *u₄* instead. In the same lines E has *bi-in-du-g₄-ga-àm* for *dug₄-ga-ni* (note that lines 255 and 256 seem to have no counterpart in F, to judge from the preserved traces of the ends of the first two lines of its reverse), while in line 257, F inserts -a- before -ni. In lines 256 and 258 the verbal forms seem to have a variant in E, to judge from the preserved -bi-ne-...; in F the verb is *mu-na-an-e-š*. In line 260, E probably omits the -ta of the first and third complex, and seems to have -mu- instead of -zu- in the second; F, too, seems to have -mu- for -zu- in the fourth complex from which, moreover, it omits the final -šè. In line 261 E omits the -en-zé-en of the verb, while F seems to have *ga-mu-ri-....-ne*. In line 262, F omits the -en-zé-en of the verb, while E seems to read *bi-ib-....-re(?)*. In line 263, note that the verb seems to be written erroneously as an imperative in D and F (in F, the last two signs on the line are quite unintelligible; note, too, that following line 263, D has another line ending in -zé-en which does not correspond to line 264, cf. comment to line 242).

244. a-šà še-ba mu-un-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-bu-i-en-zé-en
 245. uzu-nig-sig ^{ēi}šak-ta-lá-a sì-me-ab dug₄-ga-na-ab-zé-en
 246. diš-àm ú-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-na šub-bu-bí-en-zé-en
 247. ^dinanna ha-ba-gub
 248. kala-tur-kur-gar-ra inim-^den-ki-ga(!)-šè sag-kèš ba-[ši-in]-ag-eš
 249. ^{ēi}ig num-gim mu-un-dal-dal-zé-en
 250. za-ra-[a] šin-gim mu-un-gur-gur -zé-en
 251. [am]a-ga[n-a] nam-dumu-ne-ne-šè
 252. [^dereš-ki]-gal-la-ke₄ ì-ná ku₄-ra-àm
 253. [hur-kù-ga]-na kada nu-un-bùr
 254. [gaba-ni] bur-šagan-[gim] nu-un-BU
 255. [ù-u₈] a-šà-mu dug₄-ga-ni
 256. kùš-ù-me-en nin-me a-šà-zu in-na-an-[ne]-eš
 257. [ù-u₈] a-bar-mu dug₄-ga-ni
 258. k[ùš]-ù-me-en nin-me a-bar-zu in-na-an-[ne]-eš
 259. a-ba-àm za-e-me-en-zé-en
 260. šà-mu-ta šà-zu-šè bar-mu-ta bar-zu-šè ba-e-NE-dug₄-en(?) -zé-en
 261. dingir hē-me-en-zé-en inim ga-mu-ra-an-dug₇-en-zé-en
 262. lú-lu₆ hē-me-en-zé-en nam-zu ga-mu-ri-ib-tar-en-zé-en
 263. zi-an-na zi-ki-a mu-ni-in-pàd-dé-eš

*Translation*⁴⁵

224. "Go, 'lay' the feet towards the Nether World,
 225. Fly about the door like flies,
 226. Circle about the door-pivot like . . .
 227. The birth-giving mother, because of her children,
 228. Ereškigal is lying ill,
 229. Over her holy body no cloth is spread,
 230. Her holy chest, like a šagan-vessel, is not . . .
 231. Her . . . like a copper . . . is at (her) side,
 232. Her hair, like leeks she wears on her head;
 233. (When) she says: 'Woe! Oh my inside!'
 234. [Say to her]: 'You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your inside!'
 235. (When) she says: [Woe]! Oh my outside!'
 236. Say to her: 'You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your outside!'
 237. 'Whoever you are,
 238. [From my] inside to your inside, from my outside to your outside,
 239. [If you are gods] I shall [command a (good) word for you],
 240. [If you are mortals, I shall] decree [a (good) fate for you];'
 241. [Sw]ear [by Heaven and Earth].
 242.

243. [Of the river] they will present you [its water]—do not accept it,
 244. Of the field, they will present you its grain—do not accept it,
 245. 'Give us the corpse hung from the nail,' say to her,
 246. One (of you) sprinkle upon her the food of life, the other, the water of life.
 247. Inanna will arise."
 248. The *kalatur* and the *kurgarra* gave heed to the word of Enki,
 249. They flew about the door like flies,
 250. They circled about the door-pivot, like . . .
 251. The birth-giving [moth]er, because of her children,
 252. [Ereški]gal lay ill,
 253. Over her [holy body] no cloth is spread,
 254. Her chest [like] a šagan-vessel is not . . . ;
 255. (When) she said: "Woe! Oh my inside!"
 256. They said to her: "You who are sighing, our queen, Oh your inside!"
 257. (When) she said: Woe!, Oh my outside!"
 258. They said to her: "you who are sighing, our queen, Oh your outside!"
 259. "Whoever you are,
 260. From my inside to your inside, from my outside to your outside,
 261. If you are gods, I shall command a (good) word for you,
 262. If you are mortals I shall decree a (good) fate for you."
 263. They swore by Heaven and Earth.

As noted above, two of the Ur tablets published in *UET VI* (Nos. 8 and 10) played a role in the restoration of the text of an important passage of the myth. In fact all four of the Ur pieces contribute in one way or another to the restoration of the composition as a whole, as the following detailed analysis of their contents will show, thus:

2. *UET VI*, No. 8

This is a fragment inscribed with the remains of the last two columns of the obverse and the first column of the reverse of a tablet which may originally have contained eight columns of text. Col. 1 of the extant fragment has only the very ends of 18 lines, and most, but not all, of these can be identified with corresponding lines in the myth. Thus lines 1 and 2 seem to have no corresponding lines, line 3 corresponds to line 112 of the myth, which can now be seen to read: u₄ - b a ^de r e š - k i - g a l - l a - k e ₄ ḥ á š b a r - b i - š è b i - i n - r a K A b i - i n - d u K A š á - š è b a - t i ; line 4 corresponds to line 113, but has the variant i n i m m u - n a - a b - e for g ù m u - n a - d é - e ; line 5 corresponds to line 114, but omits - k u r - r a after ì - d u ₈ - g a l ; line 6, to judge from the four extant signs, does not correspond

⁴⁵ In the translation note especially that lines 237–240 and the corresponding lines 259–262 are assumed to be words spoken by Ereškigal to the *kalatur* and the *kurgarra*, although there are no introductory statements to this effect (lines 238 and 260 are especially difficult to fit into the context). It is further assumed that lines 241–242 and the corresponding lines 263 and the line which follows it in D (see end of preceding note) contain the words of Enki to his two creatures, although again there is no introductory line to indicate the shift of speakers.

to line 115, but may have been a variant of it; line 7 corresponds to line 116 (the last sign is probably -uš); lines 8-9 to judge from the preserved signs, do not correspond to lines 117-118; line 11 is practically entirely destroyed.

The second column of the obverse which has 21 lines preserved wholly or in part, corresponds by and large to lines 156-177 of the myth. Line 1, which reads: *túg-NUN-NUN-ma-ni lú ma-[da-an-zi-ir]* and which must have been preceded by a line reading: *ká-gal-imin-kam-ma ku₄-ku₄-da-ni-ta* corresponding to line 156 of the myth has no exact equivalent in the text, but a line closely corresponding to it actually following a line reading: *ká-[gal]-imin-kam-ma ku₄-ku₄-da-ni-[ta]* is *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2, col. 3, 30 which reads: *GAM-GAM-ma-ni túg(!)-N[U]N-N[U]N-m[a]-ni [lú ba-da-an-zi-ir]*. Lines 2-4 correspond to lines 158-160. Line 5 which reads: *GAM-GAM-ma-ni im-ma-da-an-te* seems to be a variant of the still obscure line 161; the *túg-NUN-NUN-ma*, however, is not mentioned in this line, since this had already been removed (cf. line 1). Line 6 which reads: *nin₉-a-ni ^{gi}gu-za-ni-ta im-ma-da-an-zi* has no corresponding line in the reconstructed text of the myth. Line 7 corresponds to line 162, but note especially the variant *e-ne* for *ereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄*. Line 8 corresponds to line 163, where the verb should therefore have been restored to read: *mu-un-da-ku₅-ru-ne* (cf. also comment below to line 20 of No. 9). Line 9 corresponds to line 165 (note the variant *bí-ne* for *i-bí-ne*), and our Ur piece therefore has no line corresponding to line 164. Line 10 probably reads: *[g]ù bí-in-dé(?) LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm* and therefore corresponds in part to line 166. Line 11 which reads: *[m u]-ni-in-ra uzu(!)-níg(!)-sig-ga-šè(!) ba-an-ku₄* corresponds to line 167 where the reading of the first half of the line should be corrected accordingly. Line 12 probably reads: *[^{gi}k ak]-ta igi-ni lú mu-un-da-lá*, and therefore corresponds to line 168 except for the omission *uzu-níg-sig-ga* and the insertion of *igi-ni*. Line 13 which reads: *[m u]-imin itu-imin u₄-imin ba-zal-la-ta* and corresponds to line 169, provides us with one of the more significant variants of our text, since it points up the relative freedom of the mythographers in treating the specific details

of current mythological motifs; thus we learn here that Inanna was dead for 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days (an obviously artificial but poetically attractive series of numbers) while according to line 24 of No. 9 (see below) she was dead for seven months, and according to the hitherto known versions, only three days and three nights. The first part of line 15 which reads: *[s u]k ka-la-ni ^{dn}nin-šubur-ra inim-nin-na-šè geštug ba-ši-in-gub*, corresponds to line 170, which, however, omits the second part of the Ur line (the reconstructed text of the myth adds, however, two lines descriptive of Ninšubur which are omitted in the Ur piece). Lines 15-20 correspond to lines 173-178 except for minor variants.

Turning to the reverse col. 1 of our text, we note that line 12⁴⁶ is to be restored to read *[íd a-ba] mu-ne-ba-e šu nu-um-BU-NE*, and corresponds to line 265. Line 14 reads: *[u zu]-níg-bar-bi-^{gi}RI-ta-RI-lá-a si-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš*, and therefore corresponds to line 266, except for the obscure variant *-bar-bi-^{gi}RI-ta-RI-* for *-sig-ga ^{gi}k ak-ta*. Line 15 corresponds to line 268 (the Ur piece therefore omits line 267 which introduces Ereškigal's speech) except for the unjustified omission of *-zu-* following *-ga-ša-an-*. Line 16 reads: *..-ir-me níg-nin(!)-me hé-me-a si-me-eb in-na-ne-eš* and therefore corresponds to line 269 except for the first complex which does not seem to agree in the two texts.

3. UET VI, No. 9

This is a small tablet whose contents correspond to lines 146-177 of the myth, but note that the following: The *tudum* which is removed at the fifth gate according to line 2, is removed at the sixth gate according to line 152 of the myth. The verbal root *-zi* (lines 2, 7, and 12) is short for *-zi-ir* in the corresponding lines of the myth. Lines 3, 8, and 13 have the variant *a-na-àm ne-e* for *ta-àm me-a* of the corresponding lines of the myth. The verb in lines 5, 10, and 15 reads: *na-bé-e* a variant for *na-an-ba-e (-en)* of the corresponding lines of the myth. The beginning of line 6 is to be restored as *[ká-gal-à]š-kam-ma* and the beginning of line 7 as *[hi-li] sag-ki-na*, the object which is

⁴⁶ Rev., lines 3-11 were utilized for the restoration of the passage treated in note 44; lines 1-2 cannot be placed at present.

removed at the second gate according to one version of the myth, or is not mentioned as removed at all in the versions on which the reconstructed text is based. Line 12 corresponds to line 157, but omits the complex *bar-ra-na*. Lines 16 and 17 which read: *gir-gir-ma-ni ugu-zag (!) - gál-šè zé-zé-ma-ni lú ma-a-n-túm* seem to correspond to the still obscure line 161 of the myth. Line 18 is probably to be restored to read: *nin₉-a-ni^{si}gu-z-a-ni (!) - ta (!) im-ma-a-n-zig-a*. Line 19 is probably to be restored to read: *e-n'e^{si}gu-z-a (!) - a-ni dúr bí-in-gar*. Line 20 is to be restored to read: [*da-a-n-na-di-ku₅*]-*imin-bi [igi-šè] di mu-un-da-ku₅-ru-ne*, and therefore corresponds to line 163 of the myth. Line 21 should probably be restored to read: *in [im bí-i]n-è-a inim-gig-ga in-LU (?)* and therefore corresponds at least in part to line 165, while line 22 corresponds to line 166; this Ur tablet therefore has no line corresponding to line 164. Line 23 which reads: *níg-su (?) - ri-lá-gim ri-lá lú [ba-da-a-n-lá] .. ba-ni-in-....* seems to be a variant for lines 166–167. Line 24 probably reads: *itu-imin-kam-ma-zal-la-ta*, and therefore corresponds to line 169. Line 25, which seems to have two indented parts, is to be restored to read: *sukkal-a-ni^dnin-šubur-ra-ke₄ inim-^dga-ša (!) - a-n-na-ke₄ geštug ba (!?) - ši-in-gub (!?)*. Line 26 corresponds to line 173, but has *du₁₁-d u₁₁-for d u₆-d u₆-*, and (perhaps) *ba-gar-ra-a-[t]a for mu-un-na-g-á-gá*. Line 27 corresponds to line 174, but has *gù-* for *gú-*. Line 28 corresponds to line 175; and line 29 corresponds to line 176. Line 30 begins with *ki (!) - lú-d-a nu-di (!?)*, and therefore corresponds to line 177.

UET VI, No. 10.

This is an unusually long and wide tablet—most of the lines correspond to two lines on the duplicates—which originally had contained the last 174 lines of the myth.⁴⁷ The obverse corre-

sponds to lines 253–285 of the myth,⁴⁸ while the reverse provides us with its very last lines, as follows.

myth—359 lines as restored in *JCS V* (see note 27) plus the approximately thirty new lines from *UET VI*, No. 10 (still unplaceable is the reverse of CBS 15162—cf. *PAPS* 85, No. 3, plate 10)—there are still missing only about 38 lines. However, there is some possibility that the Ur version of the myth was considerably longer than that. For on top of *UET VI*, No. 10 we find two figures—169 and 174—unaccompanied by any text whatever, and it is not unlikely that these refer to the number of lines on the first and second tablets of the series of which *UET VI*, No. 10 is the third and last. If so, the total number of lines on the first two tablets would be 343 (that is 91 lines more than the 252 lines which they should have, since the third tablet begins with line 252). For the present, therefore, the total number of lines of the myth is still rather uncertain.

⁴⁸ Lines 1–8 have been utilized in the restoration of the passage treated in note 44. The remainder of the obverse reads:

9. a íd-bi ma-ra-[ba]-ne šu nu-um-bu-dè a-šà še-ba ma-ra-ba šu nu-um-bu-[dè]
10. uzu-níg-sig-ga^{si} [kak]-ta-lá sì-ma-ab-zé-en dug₄-ga-ma-ab-DU-zé-en
11. uzu-níg-sig-ga ga-ša-an-ne-ne
12. níg-lugal-me-en hé-a níg-nin-bi hé-a sì-ma-zé-en dug₄-ga-ma-ab-DU-zé-en
13. uzu-níg-sig-ga^{si} kak-ta-lá-a im-ma-da-ab-si-mu-zé-en
14. diš-àm ù-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-ni ba-an-šub-bu-eš^d inanna-ba-gub
15. ereš-ki-gal kala-kur-gar-ra [gù mu-na-dé]-e
16. DU-mu-un-en-zé-en ga-ša-an-ne-[ne] ...-zu (?) -ne-ne ba-dab₅
17. inanna inim-^den-ki-[ka-ta] kur-ta e₁₁
18. inanna kur-ta-e₁₁-da-[ni] ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne ba-ab-ḫa-za-am (!?)
19. [a-ba-à]m lú kur-ta im-[ta]-e₁₁-dè kur-ta silim-ma-bi bí-in-e₁₁-dè
20. [u₄-da inanna kur-ta bí-e₁₁-[dè] sag-aš sag-gá-na ba-ab-si-mu-dè
21. [lú igi-n]a (?) sukkal-nu-me-a^{si} tukul [šu]-na bí-in-du₈
22. [bar-ra-na ra-gaba]-nu-me-a^{si} [tukul úr]-ra bí-in-du₈
23. [galla-tur-tur^{si} šukur-ra-gim galla-gal-gal] gi-dub-ba-an-na zag-ga-na um-dab₅ (!?) -[bé-eš]
24. [lú e-ne-ra in-ši-súG-eš-àm lú inanna-ra in-si-súG-eš-àm]

In detail, note the following: Line 9 corresponds to lines 264–265 of the myth, but the *ra-* for *-na-* in *ma-ra-[ba]-ne* and *ma-ra-ba* (sic! there is no *-ne* following *-ba-*) seems to be unjustified. Line 10 corresponds to line 266, but note that the verbal form is an imperative instead of an indicative (this is also true of lines 12 and 13; it would seem that the scribe confused these verbal forms with the correctly used imperatives of lines 243 ff). Line 11 corresponds to line 268; the Ur text therefore omits the introductory line indicating that it is Ereškigal who is speaking (note, too, the omission of *-zu-* before *-ne-ne*). Line 12 corresponds to line 269; it has several variants, among which is the use of the imperative instead of the expected indicative. Line 13

⁴⁷ So according to the colophon. It is to be noted, however, that the figure 174 probably does not refer to the number of lines on this tablet—if it did, these would correspond to about 250 lines of our myth—but to the number of lines inscribed on tablets of normal size. If so, we are in a position to calculate the number of lines of the myth as a whole, by adding 174 to 252 (since *UET VI*, No. 10 begins with line 253 of the myth) or 426 lines. And since we now have approximately 389 lines of the

Transliteration

1.
2. num-e
3. ki-sikil-^dinanna-ke₄
4. é-bi ... -zabar ... -a-ke₄ ḥu-mu(?) -ra(?) - ...
-zé- ...
5. ur-mu(?) ... -ke₄-ne-gim nam-[ba-]ab- ...
6. i-[bī-éš nam]-tar-ra-^dinanna-ke₄ ḥur(?) [hē-en-
nam-ma-àm]
7. ḥr im-[ma]-š[e₈-še₈]
8. [šu]l(?) -mu im-ma-^{du} šu-šè mu-da-ab- ...
9. i-[bī-éš] šè me-li-e-a zi- ...
10. ... -zu mu-maš-àm nin₉-zu mu-maš-àm]
11. [u₄ ... -zu] al-di-di-e u₄-bi íb-ba(?) - ...
12. u₄ nin₉-zu al-di-di-e u₄-bi íb- ...
13. kù-^dinanna ^ddumu-zi sag-bi-šè bī-in-si-mu
14. kù-^dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄
15. zà-sal-zu dūg-ga-àm

Translation

1.
2. The fly(?)
3. The maid Inanna
4. "Their(?) house of(?) bronze let it(?)
be
5. Do not ... my(?) dog(?) like"
6. [Now] in accordance with the decree of Inanna
[so it came to pass].
7. ... weeps:
8. "My [yo]uth(?) has gone, he has ... by the hand,
9. Now, woe
10. [Your] ... half the year, your sister, half the year,
11. [The day your] ... comes, that day ...
12. The day your sister comes, that day"
13. Holy Inanna places Dumuzi at their head.
14. Oh Ereškigal,
15. Good is your praise.

Commentary

As is obvious from the translation, very little can be made of the meaning of this crucial but fragmentary passage. Thus the assumption that lines 4-5 contain the words of Inanna is most uncertain; so, too, are the suggested restorations in lines 6, 8, 10, and 11. In line 7 it is difficult to surmise the identity of the weeper. Line 10 seems to say that Dumuzi will have two visitors the year round in the Nether World; one is his sister (presumably Geštinanna) while the identity of the other is uncertain.⁴⁹ Finally

corresponds to line 270, but again there seems to be some confusion in the verbal form. Line 14 corresponds to lines 270 and 271. Lines 15 and 16 have no corresponding lines in the known version of the myth (note that in line 15 the expected -t u r following k a l a - is omitted in the text). Line 17 probably corresponds to line 278. Lines 18-20 correspond to lines 273-277. Lines 21-22 correspond to lines 282-283. Line 23 corresponds to lines 279-281. Line 24 corresponds to lines 284-285.

⁴⁹ If the first comple is to be restored to read [a - a - z] u , it might refer to Enki who according to UM 29-16-37 (see pp. 20-24 of this study) is Dumuzi's father.

the meaning of the crucial line 13, assuming that the transliteration is correct,⁵⁰ is quite obscure.⁵¹

UET VI, No. 11

1. galla-tur ka ba-a-ši-bad-du galla-gu-la-ra gu
mu-na-dè-e
2. gá-nam-ma-an-zé-en úr-kù-^dinanna-ka-šè ga-da-
súg-en-dè-en
3. galla unu^{ki}-šè ba-ni-in-ku₄-re-eš kù-^dinanna-ke₄
mu-ni-in-dab₅-bé-ne
4. gá-nu ^dinanna kaskal-zu-šè ni-ba gen-na kur-šè
e₁₁-dè
5. ki-šà-gi₄-du-a-zu-šè gen-na kur-šè e₁₁-dè
6. ki-^dereš-ki-gal-la-šè gen-na kur-šè e₁₁-dè
7. túg-ma₆-kù túg-pala₂-a túg-nam-nin-zu nam-ba-
mu₄-mu₄-un kur-šè e₁₁-dè
8. men-kù me-te-inim-silim-ma sag-zu-a um-ta-
gá-ar kur-šè e₁₁-dè
9. ḥi-li-a igi-zu šu la-ba-ni-in-du₇ kur-šè e₁₁-dè
10. ur-nu-banda gir-zu ... -du₈-du₈ kur-šè e₁₁-eè
11. ... za-e e₁₁-dè ... nu-BU-BU
12. kù-^dinanna-ke₄ mu-un-búr-búr-re-eš ... -ga(?) -
dè-eš
13. ^dinanna ní-te-na ^ddumu-zi šu-šè ba-an-[si]
14. guruš-e ^{gi}maḥ-a gír-ni im-ma-an-gar-re-en-dè-en
15. guruš-e ^{gi}iēš-ad šub-bu-dè-en-dè-en ^{gi}gú gú-ni
gar-re-en-dè-en
16. urudu^{du}henzir urudu^{du}kibir urudu^{du}šukur-maḥ-e igi-ni
ba-an-ši-íb-íl-íl
17. urudu^{du}ha-zi-in-gal-gal-la ù(?) . SAR(?) i-ag-e-ne
18. guruš-e mu-ni-in-gub-bu-dè-eš mu-ni-in-tuš(?) -
dè-eš
19. túg^GÚM na-ni šub-bu-dè-en-dè-en uš-gum gub-
bu-dè-en-dè-en
20. guruš-e á-na mu-un-lá-e-dè-eš túg^eēš-síg(?) -ḥul(?)
mu-un-ši-in-ag-eš
21. túg-ní-te-na igi-na mu-ni-in-dul-ù-dè-cš
22. guruš-e ^dutu-ra an-šè šù-ni ba-an-na-zi(!)
23. ^dutu ku-li-zu mà-e-me-en šul-me-en za-e
mu-zu(!?)
24. nin₉-zu nam-dam-šè ba-an-tuku-a
25. e-ne kur-šè e₁₁-dè
26. mu e-ne kur-šè e₁₁-dè
27. mà-e ki-gar-ra-bi-šè kur-šè ba-ab-si-mu-dè
28. ^dutudi-ku₆-nig-sisá za-e-me-ennam-ba-tùm(?) -dè
29. šu-mà ù-me-e-kúr alam-mu ù-mu-e-bal
30. šu-galla-mu-ne ga-ba-e-da-an-zi-ir nam-mu-
ḥa-a-za-aš
31. muš-sag-kal-gim šà-túm-ḥur-sag-gá mu-ni-
in-bal-bal
32. ki-nin₉-^dgeštin-an-na-šè zi-mu ga-ba-an-ši-
in-túm
33. ^dutu ír-na šu ba-an-ši-in-ti
34. šu-ni mu-ni-in-kúr-kúr alam-ma-ni mu-ni-in-
bal-bal

⁵⁰ Note that -è -a might perhaps have to be restored after sag - bi - šè .

⁵¹ There follows an interesting colophon which reads: im - g i d - d a - 3 - k a m - m a z a g - t i l - l a a n - g a l - t a k i - g a l - š è , that is, "The third extract, the final one (of the myth whose incipit is) "From the 'great above' to the 'great below,'" this is the incipit of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World."

35. muš-sag-kal-gim šà-túm-ḥur-sag-gá mu-ni-in-bal-bal
 36. ^ddumu-zi-dè mušen-šè sūr(!)-dù^{mušen}-dal-a-gim zi-ni HUR-da i-šub-ba(?)
 37. ki-^dgeštin-an-na-šè zi-ni ba-ši-in-túm
 38. ^[d]geštin-an-na šeš-a-ni igi ba-ni-in-du₈-àm
 39. te-na mu-ni-in-ḥur-ḥur ka(!)-na mu-ni-in-ḥur-ḥur
 40. igi-ni zag-ga-na mi-ni-in-du₈ túg-ni mi-ni-in-da-da-ra
 41. guruš-ág-gig-ra i-lu-ág-gig-ga ḥu-mu-ni-ib-bé
 42. a šeš-mu a šeš-mu guruš U₄-bi nu-um-[gur(?)]
 43. a šeš-mu su₈-ba-^dama-ušumgal-an-na guruš U₄-bi . . -bi nu-u[m]-gur(?)
 44. a šeš-mu guruš dam-nu-tuku dumu-nu-tuku
 45. a šeš-mu guruš ku-li-nu-tuku du₁₀-ús-sa-nu-tuku
 46. a šeš-mu guruš ama-ni ša₅-ga-ni nu-du₈
 47. galla ^ddumuzi-dè mu-ni-in-kin-kin-ne mu-ni-in-nigin-na-eš
 48. galla-tur galla-gu-la-ra gù mu-na-dé-e-ne
 49. galla ama-nu-tuku ad-da(!)-ama-nin₉-šeš-dam-dumu-nu-tuku-me-eš
 50. u₄-me-da gal-ukuš-gar-ra an-ki-ta RI(?) -a-bi
 51. za-e-ne-ne galla-en-zé-en lú zag-ga-ni máš- . . .
 52. šu-gar-ša₆-ga nu-tuku-me-eš ša₆-ga-ḥul nu-zu-me-eš
 53. lú-ù gán-nu ní-te-na zi-ni silim-ma a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du₈
 54. ki ku-li-bi nu-um-ši-du-dè-en ki mí-ús-sá-bi nu-um-ši-du-dè-en
 55. su₈-ba-ra ki-geštin-an-na-ka-šè ga-an-ši-sÚG-en-dè-en
 56. galla-e e-ne šu-ta ba-ab-sig-sig-ge-me-eš mu-ni-in-kin-kin-ne-eš
 58. i-lu-bi ka-ka-na nu-mu-un-til-la-àm
 58. galla ki-^dgeštin-an-na-šè ba-e-ši-sÚG-re-eš
 59. ki šeš-zu lá-ma-ra-ab e-ne mu-ni-ib-bé e-ne inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 60. an(!?) im-te ki úr-ra ba-ni-in-zé-ènim inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 61. ki(?) im-te . . . -na ba-ni-in-ḥur-ḥur inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 62. . . im-te . . . TÚG-na ba-ni-in-bir₆(!)-bir₆(!) inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 63. esir úr-ra-na ba-ni-in-dé-dé inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-bé
 64. ^ddumu-zi-dè é-^dgeštin-an-na-ke₄ nu-um-me-ni-in-pàd-dè
 65. gall[a-tur ga]lla-gu-la-ra gù mu-na-dé-e-ne
 66. gá-na[m-ma-an-zé-en] amaš-kù-ga-šè(!) ga-an-ši-sÚG-dè-en
 67. ^ddumu-zi-dè amaš-[kù-ga-šè(?)] mu-ni-dab₅-bé-dè-eš
 68. mu-ni-in-nigin-ne-eš [mu-ni-in-da]b₅-bé-dè-eš mu-ni-in-kin(?) -ne-eš igi ba-ni-in-du₈-àm
 69. guruš-ra gán-nu na(?) -ma ^{urudu}ḥa-zi(!)-in šu-gál ba-ši-in-ti
 70. gír(?) úr-ra mu-ni-in-sar-sar-re-eš mu-ni-in-nigin(!)-na-eš
 71. nin₉-e na-ám-šeš-na-šè mà(?) -a- . . . im-ma-an-nigin
 72. šeš-mu ?-gig-ga-gal-šè(!?) ga-du(?) gán-na me ga-an-ku₄(?)⁶²

⁶² As will be readily apparent to the Sumerologist, the text is full of grammatical irregularities and obscurities (note especially the seemingly unjustified verbal forms in lines 14, 15, and 19).

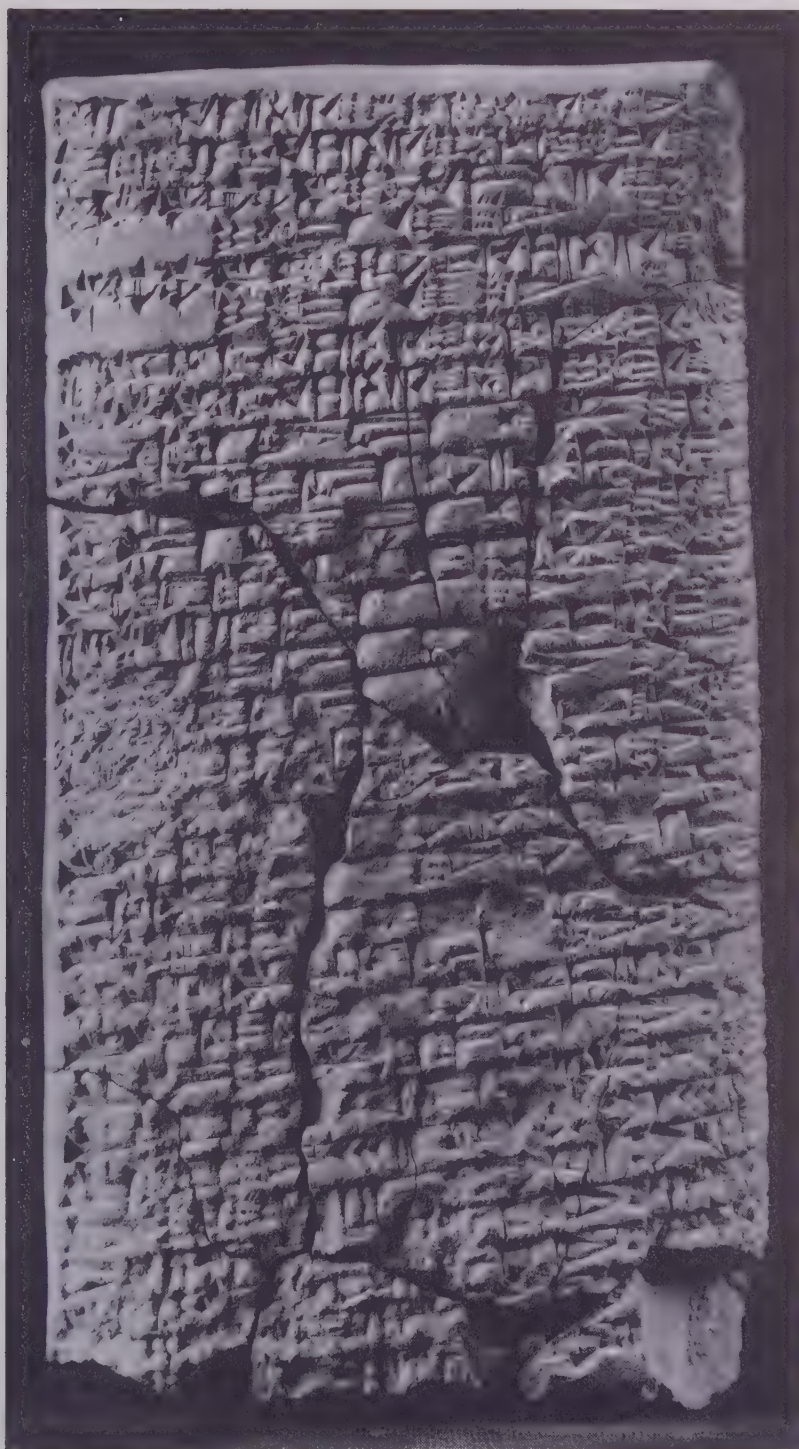


FIG. 1. UM 29-16-37 obv. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.



FIG. 2. UM 29-16-37 rev. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

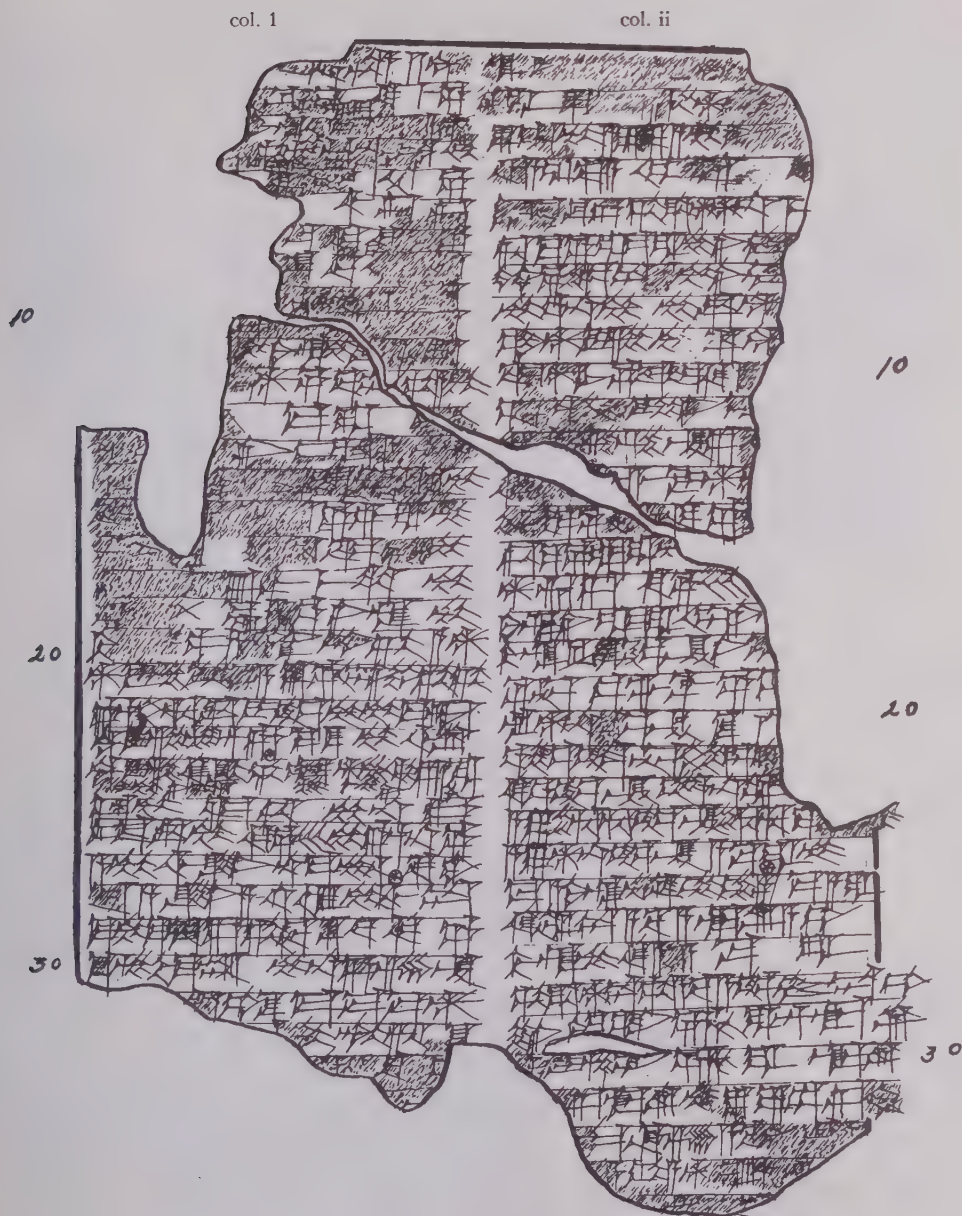


FIG. 3. Ni 9602 obv. From copy by S. N. Kramer.

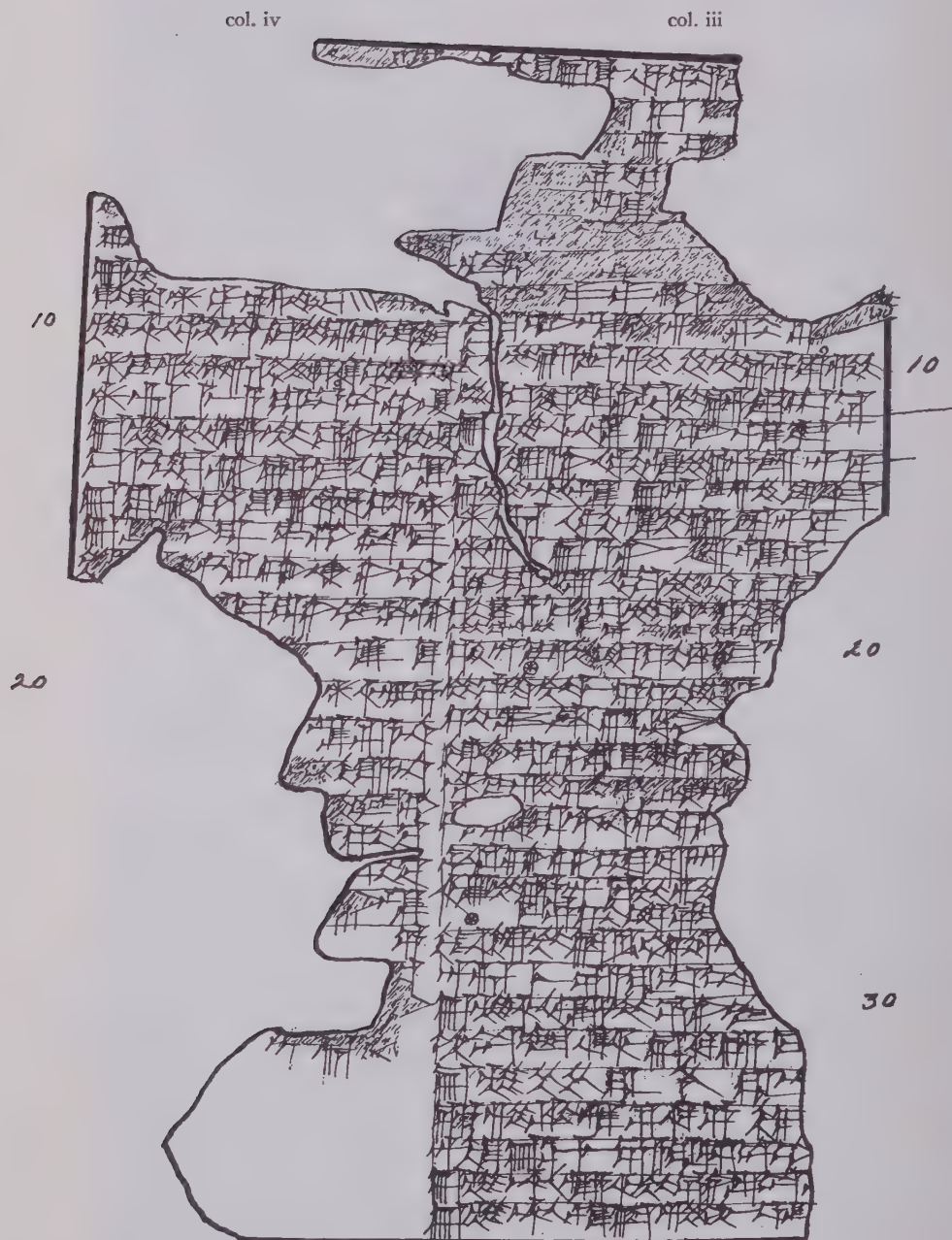


FIG. 4. Ni 9602 rev. From copy by S. N. Kramer.

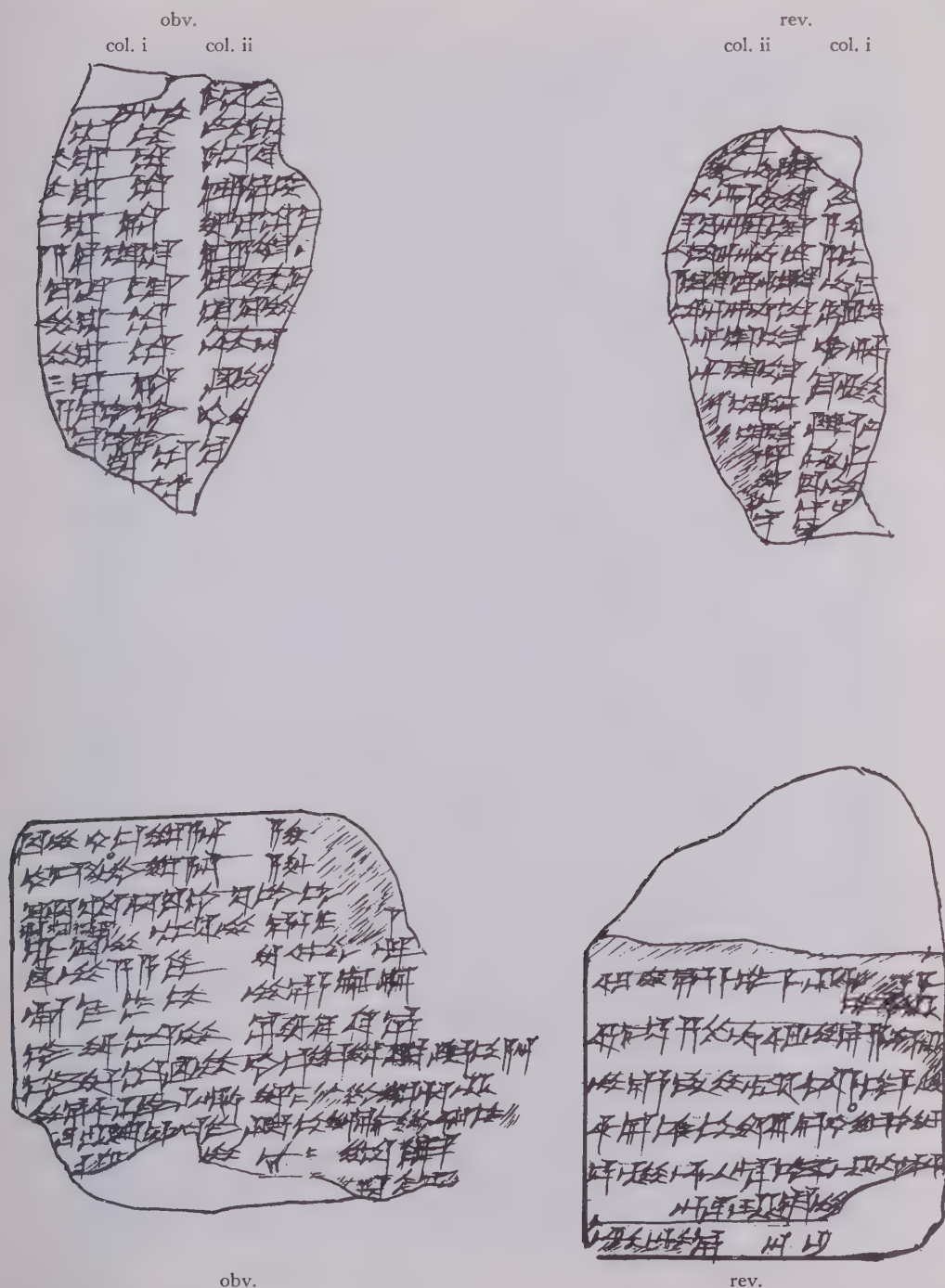


FIG. 5. N 4305 (top) obv. and rev. and N 3560 obv. and rev. From copies by Jane Heimerdinger, Research Assistant in the Near Eastern Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

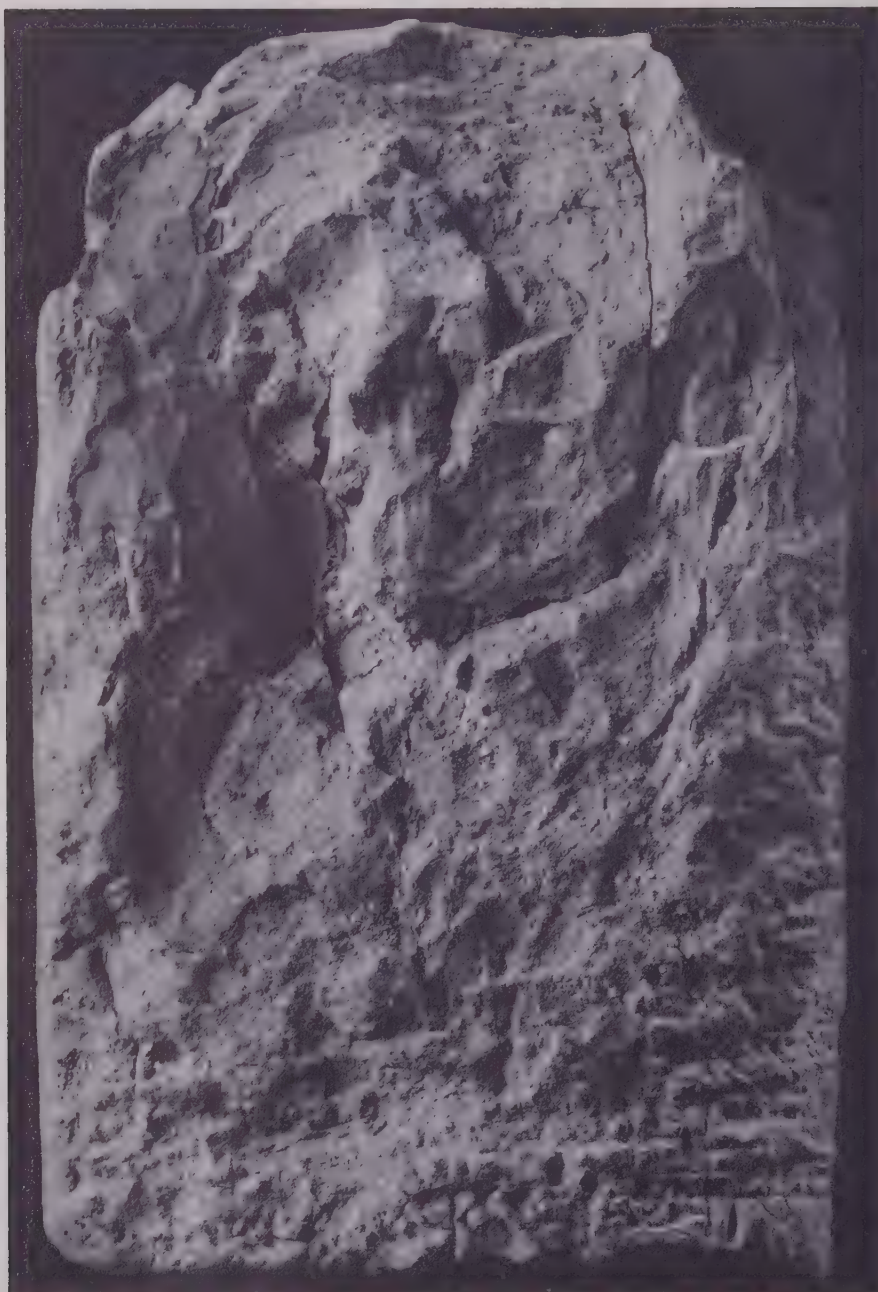


FIG. 6. UM 29-16-8 obv. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

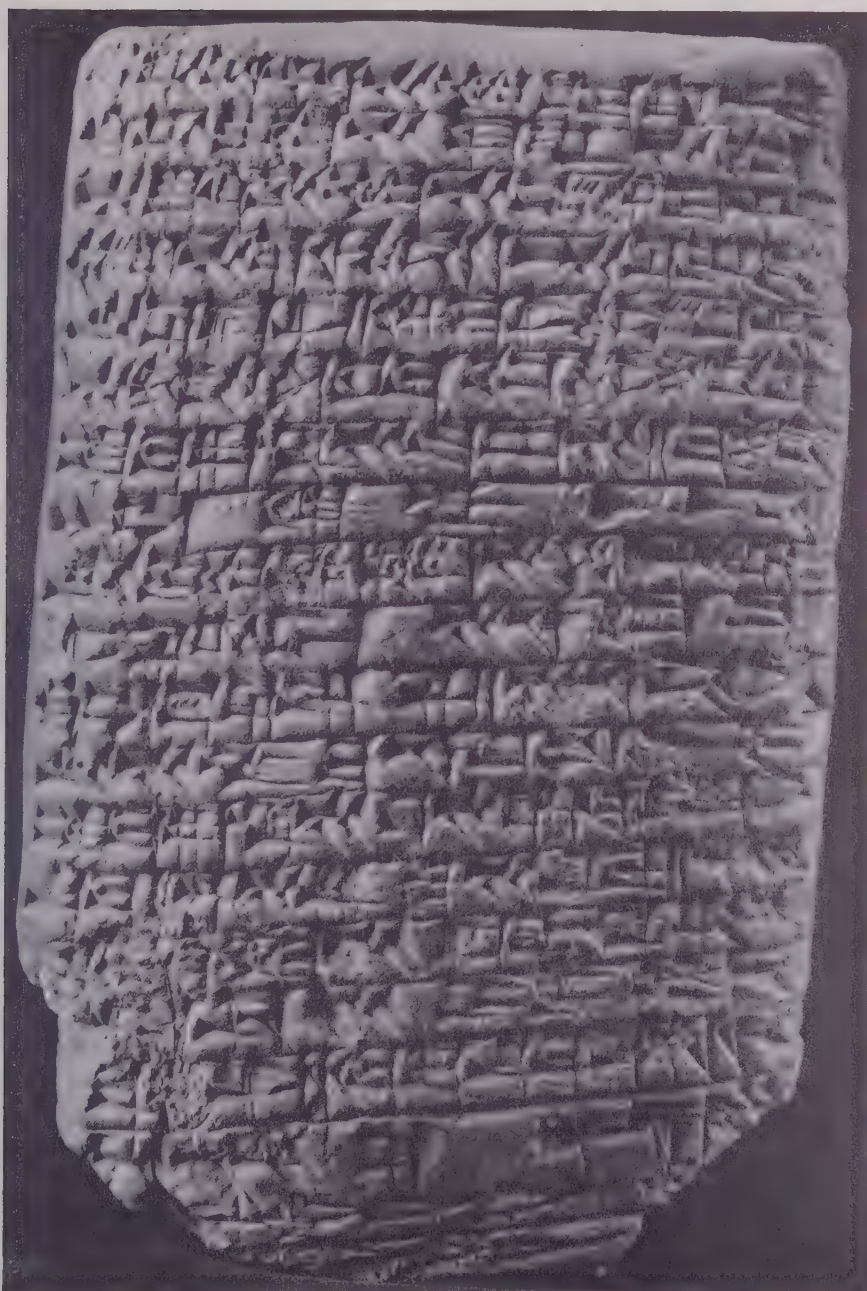


FIG. 7. UM 29-16-8 rev. From photograph prepared by the late Reuben Goldberg, photographer at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

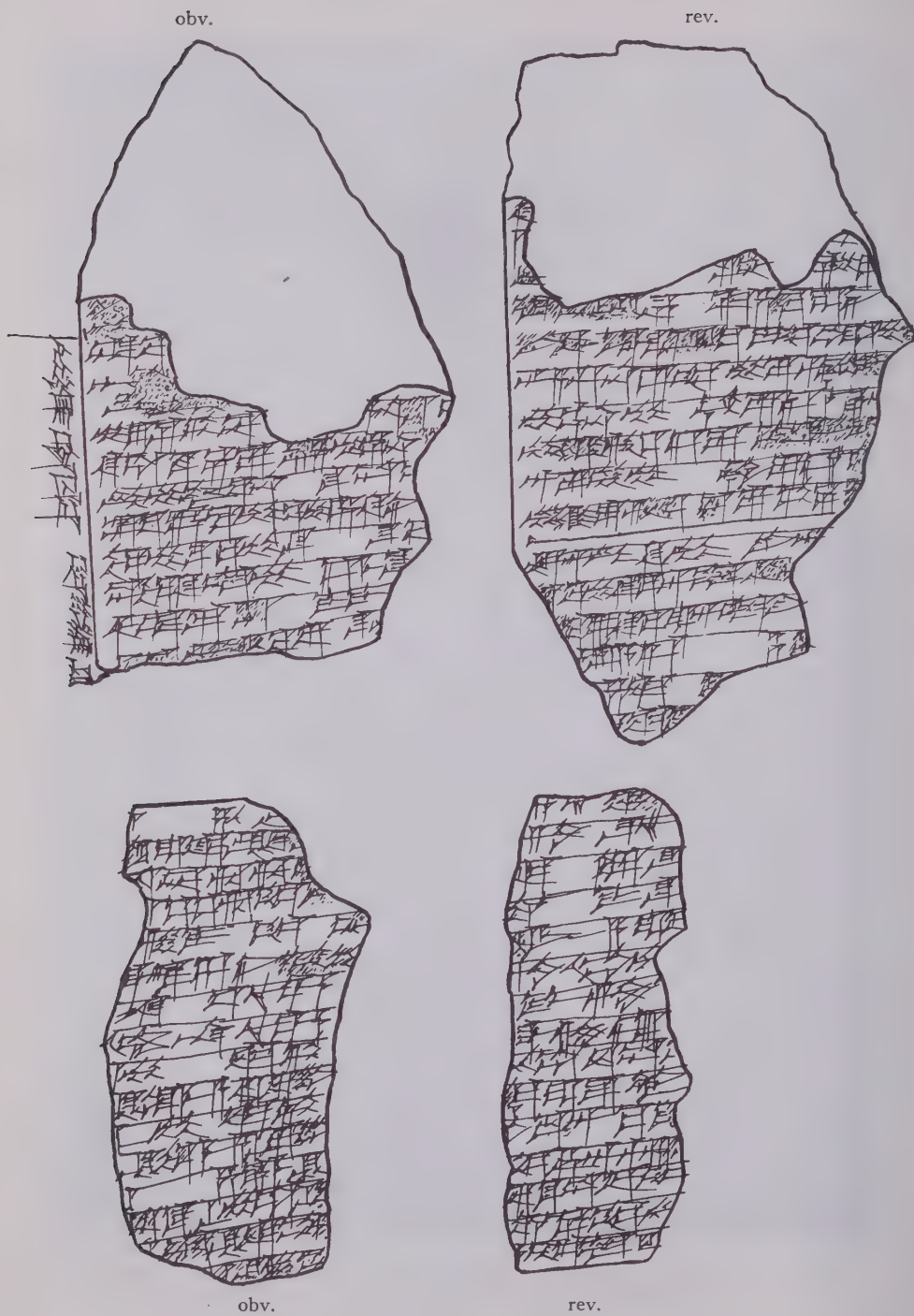


FIG. 8. Ni 4552 (top) obv. and rev. and Ni 9838 obv. and rev. From copies by S. N. Kramer.

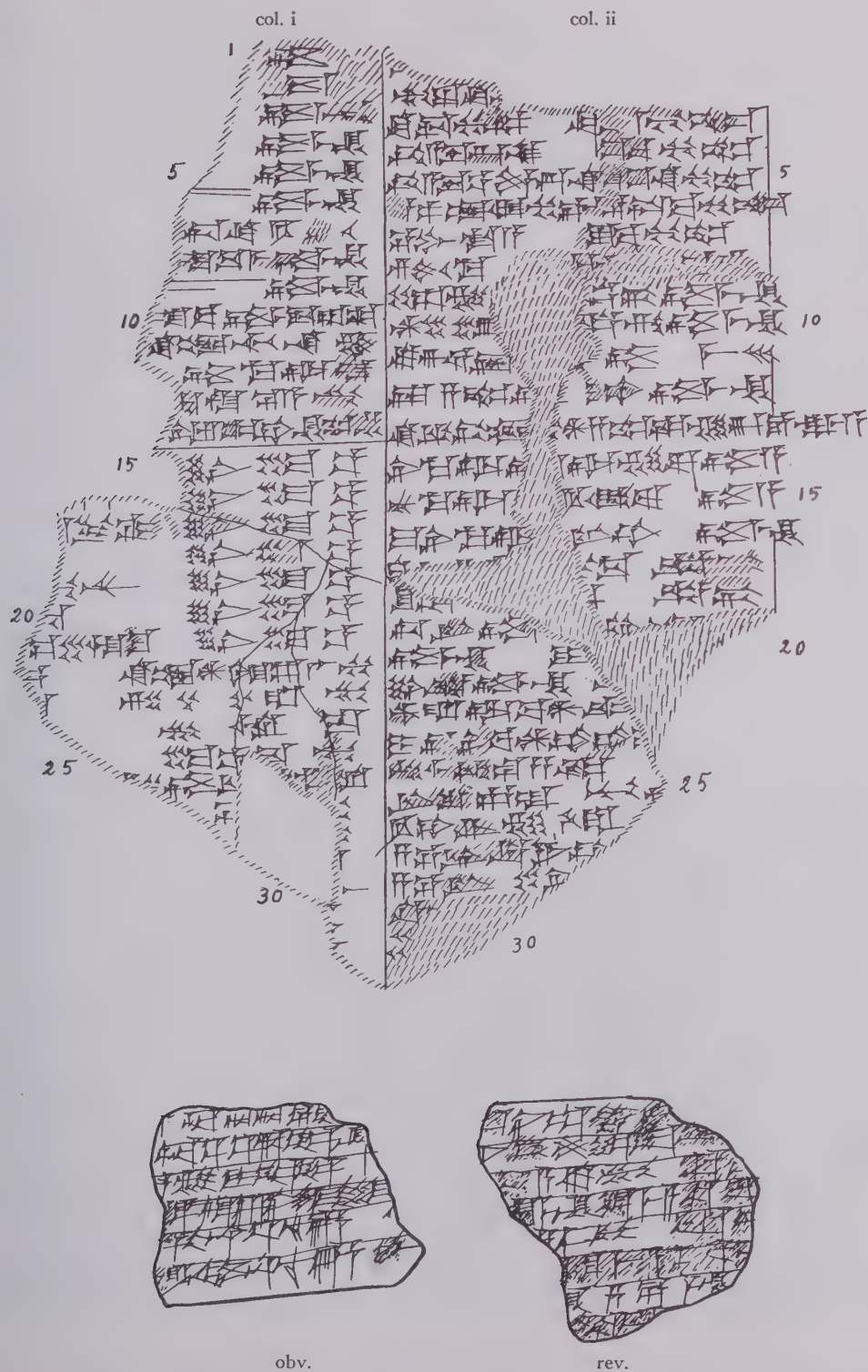


FIG. 9. Ni 4569 (top) obv. and Ni 4187 obv. and rev. Upper part from a copy by Muazzez Çiğ, Curator of the Tablet Collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul. Lower part from copies by S. N. Kramer.

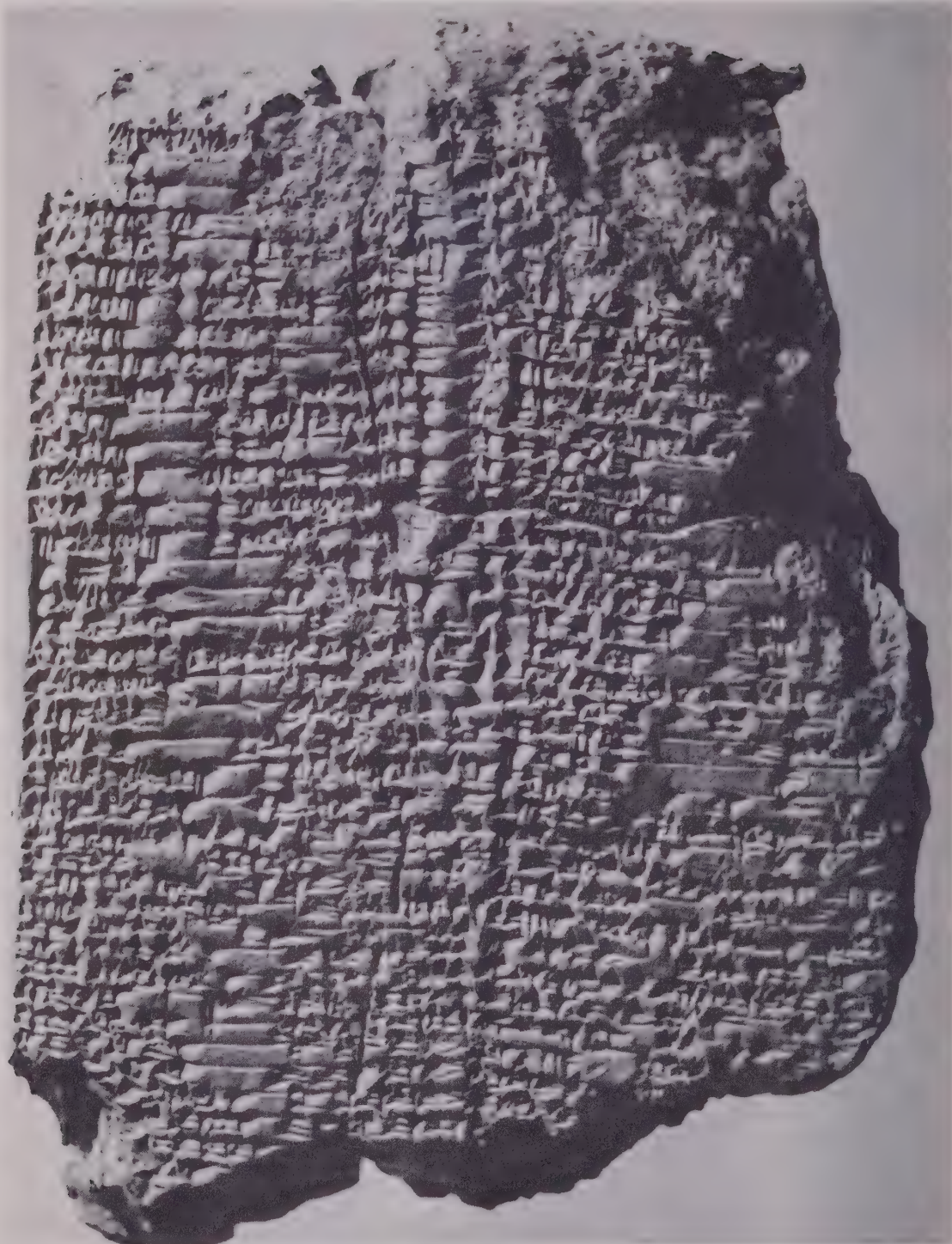


FIG. 10. *TMH N.F. III, No. 2 obv.* From photographs by the *Hochschulbildstelle* of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena.



FIG. 11. *TMH N.F. III*, No. 2 rev. From photograph by the *Hochschulbildstelle* of the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena.

THE SURVIVAL OF BABYLONIAN METHODS IN THE EXACT SCIENCES OF ANTIQUITY AND MIDDLE AGES

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(Read April 19, 1963, in the Symposium on Cuneiform Studies and the History of Civilization)

Non omnis sapientia penes Chaldaeos et Orientem fuit. Etiam Occidentis aut Septentrionis homines fuerunt λογικά ἔα.

Scaliger, De emend. temp. (1629) p. 171.

AMONG the many parallels between our own times and the Roman imperial period could be mentioned the readiness to ascribe to the "Chaldeans" discoveries whenever their actual origin was no longer known. The basis for such assignments is usually the same: ignorance of the original cuneiform sources, excusable in antiquity but less so in modern times. Given this situation, it seems to me equally important to establish what we can say today about knowledge which the Babylonians *did* have and to distinguish this clearly from methods and procedures which they *did not* have. In other words, it seems to me that it is high time that an effort is made to eliminate historical clichés, both for the Mesopotamian civilizations and their heirs, and to apply common sense to the fragmentary but solid information obtained from the study of the original sources during the last hundred years.

My approach to these problems will earn the displeasure of many scholars. Classicists who are still fighting the Persian Wars and see only barbarians in the Orientals, scholars who discover Iranian influences wherever they look, Orientalists who are convinced that "ex oriente lux," and philosophers who think that science originates from preconceived doctrines will join in disagreeing with every one of my conclusions, however different their points of view may be in all other respects. All that I can say in my defense is expressed in a sentence by Louis de la Vallée-Poussin: "je ne suis qu'un lecteur de textes."

How strongly historical interpretations can be influenced by generally accepted clichés may be illustrated by the following incident. During the excavations by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur (1887 to 1900) for the first time a substantial number of mathematical texts came to light. Except for a few simple ideograms, they

contain nothing but columns of numbers, written in the sexagesimal system. Obviously, concluded Hilprecht in editing these texts, one had here the oriental source on which ultimately rested Plato's number mysticism, contained in the *Republic* VIII and in the *Laws* V, since Plato was following Pythagoras who "derived his mathematical science and doctrines from the East." Thus Hilprecht discovered Plato's "Nuptial Number" 12960000 = 60⁴ in his tablets which he then transcribed, e.g., as

4	3240000
5	2592000
6	2160000.

In fact the numbers in the right-hand column all contain the factor 216000 = 60³, arbitrarily chosen by Hilprecht, while the text actually reads

4	15
5	12
6	10.

Since the product of left and right is always 60, one has here a simple table of reciprocals, telling us that $\frac{1}{4}$ of any unit is 15 minutes, $\frac{1}{5}$ equals 12 minutes, etc.—and so with all the remaining texts which are nothing but elementary aids for sexagesimal computing.

Since 1929, when W. Struwe and I succeeded in bringing sense also into nontrivial (i.e., algebraic and geometric) mathematical cuneiform texts, our available sources have expanded to constitute probably the largest body of scientific original documents from a pre-Hellenistic civilization. No trace of number mysticism has ever been found in these often highly sophisticated but perfectly rational mathematical texts which range from the twentieth to the first century B.C. Nevertheless, the "Babylonian" origin of whatever is ir-

rational or mystical (in fact or reconstructed) remains the inexhaustible resource for synthetic histories of science and philosophy, whether it concerns the Pythagoreans or the Ionians, Plato or Eudoxus, Nicomachus, Proclus, etc., etc.

This tendency is by no means new; in fact it is inherited from antiquity. The Babylonians or the Egyptians (e.g., in the Hermetic literature) were held responsible whenever one needed authority with a high reputation. For less inspiring subjects, like mathematics, simple nursery stories (e.g., the origin of geometry from the inundation of the fields in Egypt) gained general currency because of their simple finality. It is very illuminating to collect these ancient stories about "origins"¹ from Herodotus to the Church Fathers. Their uniformity and simplemindedness is most impressive; for our knowledge of pre-Hellenistic science these sources are not only practically valueless but seriously misleading. In order not to remain in the realm of generalities, let me quote only one example, the statements from antiquity concerning the reckoning of the beginning of the "day" in Mesopotamia. Relying exclusively on sources from classical antiquity—e.g., Pliny who claims (N.H. II, 188) that the Babylonians reckon their days from sunrise—modern scholars have come to the most contradictory results, whereas the astronomical cuneiform texts from the Seleucid period show in their date columns that sunset represents the civil epoch but that midnight was used for astronomical reasons in the computations of the lunar theory of the most advanced type ("System B"). This shows how little of contemporary Babylonian science had become common knowledge. I should not wish to extrapolate this experience to other areas of ancient cultural history and literary criticism where we do not have at our disposal original sources of unquestionable precision and authority.

That the Babylonian priest Berossos, dedicating his "Babyloniaca" to Antiochus I, transmitted Babylonian astronomy to his Greek pupils in Kos is common knowledge. Schnabel, who edited the fragments of the *Babyloniaca*,² added to his edition gratuitously (and with many errors) sections from two ephemerides from cuneiform texts which have nothing to do with Berossos. The little, however, that is preserved of astronomical character

in the fragments³ suffices to demonstrate that Berossos was totally ignorant of the contemporary Babylonian astronomy when he was teaching that the lunar phases were the result of a rotation of the moon which he supposed to be half luminous, half dark. The mathematical theory of the lunar phases constitutes the best developed and most sophisticated section of Babylonian astronomy in the Seleucid period, leaving no room for such primitive doctrines. They were proper meat for Greek philosophers; for the transmission of Babylonian astronomy, however, Berossos can be safely ignored.

If we now turn to positive evidence, provided by cuneiform texts, we stand on safe chronological grounds. Mathematics is fully developed in the Old Babylonian period, while mathematical astronomy originated probably in the Persian period. Cuneiform texts of both classes still exist from the last century or two B.C. Of the origin of Babylonian mathematics, we know nothing; my guess would be that it developed fairly rapidly without a Sumerian antecedent. Whatever the case may be, we know today that it had reached by the nineteenth century B.C. a full command of sexagesimal techniques based on a place value notation (though without a symbol for zero), including higher exponents and their inverses, and a great deal of insight into algebraic and plane geometric relations, among which "Thales' Theorem" about the right triangle in a semicircle and in particular the "Pythagorean Theorem" for the right triangle take a common place. The famous Plimpton Tablet⁴ reveals full understanding of the mathematical laws which govern "Pythagorean" triples of integers, i.e., solutions of $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ under the condition that a , b , and c be integers. To quote only the first three solutions on which our text is based:

a	b	c
2,0 (= 120)	1,59 (= 119)	2,49 (= 169)
57,36 (= 3456)	56,7 (= 3367)	3,12,1 (= 11521)
1,20,0 (= 75600)	1,16,41 (= 4601)	1,50,49 (= 3949)

This goes far beyond such trivialities as the "discovery" that $3^2 + 4^2 = 5^2$.

Since we have mathematical cuneiform texts from the Seleucid period and since Greek and Demotic papyri from the Greco-Roman period in Egypt show knowledge of essentially the same

¹ Cf. for this whole problem A. Kleingünther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΞ ΕΤΥΡΗΤΗΣ*, *Philologus*, Suppl. 26, 1 (1933).

² *Berosos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1923).

³ Schnabel, Nos. 16 to 26.

⁴ O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* (American Oriental Series 29, New Haven, 1945), pp. 38-41.

basic material, one can no longer doubt that the discoveries of the Old Babylonian period had long since become common mathematical knowledge all over the ancient Near East. The whole tradition of mathematical works under the authorship of Heron (first century A.D.), Diophantus (date unknown), down to the beginning Islamic science (al-Kwârazmî, ninth century) is part of the same stream which has its ultimate sources in Babylonia.

Probably also in the Persian period, perhaps in connection with beginning mathematical astronomy, the sexagesimal place value notation was perfected by the introduction of a symbol for "zero" (a separation mark). Thus, when Greek astronomy began its own development in the early second century B.C., using sexagesimally written Babylonian parameters, the use of a separation mark for zero was also adopted. With Greek astronomy the place value notation, including zero, came to India, where this system was finally extended also to decimally written numbers, whence our "Hindu (Arabic) numerals" originated. Again, the basic idea is undoubtedly Babylonian in origin.

For Greek mathematics the picture now becomes quite clear. It hardly needs emphasis that one can forget about Pythagoras and his carefully kept secret discoveries. It is also clear that a large part of the basic geometrical, algebraic, and arithmetical knowledge collected in Euclid's *Elements* had been known for a millennium and more. But a fundamentally new aspect was added to this material, namely the idea of general mathematical proof. It is only then that mathematics in the modern sense came into existence. Parallel with the development of modern axiomatic mathematics it became clear that the discovery of "irrationals" by Theaetetus and Eudoxus caused the transformation of intuitively evident arithmetical and algebraic relations into a strictly logical geometric system. From this moment the theoretical branch of Greek mathematics severed all relations with the ultimately Mesopotamian origins of mathematical knowledge.

It is very illuminating to compare Euclid's *Elements* with another work by the same author, his spherical astronomy (the *Phaenomena*).^{4a} In the

Elements everything is subject to a perfectly logical structure (though notoriously based on different earlier presentations, in part of the fifth century). In the *Phaenomena* we find only fumbling attempts to obtain some quantitative and some geometric insight into the mutual relations of equator, ecliptic, and parallel circles in relation to the yearly solar motion. The *Elements* were unsurpassed for two millennia to come; the *Phaenomena* try to settle elementary astronomical questions which had to wait for four more centuries of efforts until Menelaos' spherical geometry. I think the reason for such a marked difference is clear. In the *Elements* a well-known body of material was readily at hand and made subject to the newly discovered logical principles—and it is worth repeating that this constitutes a scientific achievement of the very first order but adds very little to the factual material. For spherical geometry, however, the situation was quite different. All that we know of Babylonian astronomy (and mathematics) speaks against the existence of any spherical geometry. Crude arithmetical schemes mark the beginning of astronomical endeavors—e.g., concerning the variation of the length of daylight during the year—eventually to be highly refined by means of arithmetical sequences of different order. Here the Greeks had to begin from scratch. Eudoxus' "Homocentric Spheres" were a flash of genius but astronomically valueless, and the subsequent entanglement with philosophical principles did not help matters. Euclid and Aristarchus drastically demonstrate the inadequacy of the traditional mathematics to cope with spherical astronomy and trigonometry at the end of the fourth century. Only with Apollonius (around the end of the third century) does real progress begin by returning to plane geometry, masterfully applied in Archimedean fashion to the problems of eccentric and epicyclic motion. We do not know whether Apollonius had Babylonian data at his disposal; from what we know about his work, there is no compelling reason to assume it. With his successor Hipparchus, however, it is clear that the empirical data of the contemporary Babylonian astronomy were available to him while in all probability the theory of stereographic projection (perhaps influenced by Apollonius' theory of conic sections) made it possible to solve spherical trigonometric problems in the plane. From now on, the full impact of the Babylonian sexagesimal place value notation is felt and remains the backbone of astronomical

^{4a} Unfortunately I did not overlook a recent paper on "Greek Astronomy and its Debt to the Babylonians" by Leonard W. Clarke in *The British Journal for the History of Science* 1 (1962): 65-77. May it suffice to characterize the author's competence by his opinion "that Euclidean geometry pre-supposes a flat earth" (p. 75).

computations to the present day such that the sexagesimal division of time and angles still encumbers instruments and tables. Only in the first century of our era did Menelaos find the proper generalization of plane geometry to the sphere by operating with great circles only and thus create spherical trigonometry. With Ptolemy, in the next generation, astronomy reaches the same perfection as mathematics in the *Elements* almost five centuries earlier. He eliminated the remnants of Babylonian-Hipparchian parameters by the systematic refinement of all empirical data. This was made possible by comparison of his own observations and improved cinemematical models with older data. Except for the sexagesimal computational procedures the role of Babylonian astronomy is now ended for mathematical astronomy.⁵ Exactly as Babylonian mathematics lingers on for many more centuries in the Heronic-Diophantine literature which is continued into the high Middle Ages, so too we shall find residues of Babylonian astronomy in branches untouched by the *Almagest* tradition, in particular in the Hindu-Arabic tables and treatises. But for the scientific main stream, the Babylonian influence ends for Greek mathematics in the fifth century B.C. and for astronomy with Menelaos and Ptolemy in the first and second century A.D.

Astral religion has as little to do with the origin of astronomy as Genesis with astrophysics. Nor does the interest in celestial omens—as one class of omens among many—lead to astronomy. As long as one takes extraordinary events as a means of communications between the gods and men one will devote every effort to deciphering this complicated divine language. One will record the repetitions of phenomena in order to find their significance but one will not try to predict the recurrence of the ominous phenomena themselves. Astrology, which operates with the use of mathematical astronomy, is the very antithesis of omen-lore. Its basis is causality, not communication of arbitrary decisions of a divine will. This causal root of

astrology is still clearly recognizable in Greek astrology in its relation to weather prognostication. Just as sun and moon visibly influence the seasons, the winds, and climatic conditions, so may also the stars and planets be influential. Now it makes sense to predict; but Hesiod and Aratus, the *paraegmata* and related treatises, show how qualitative and how crude all such attempts had to remain before the necessary mathematical tools existed. The situation in Mesopotamia was perhaps not very much different. It is probably not accidental that the first calendaric cycles, in particular the “Metonic” nineteen-year cycle, appear simultaneously in Babylon and in Greece. In both areas simple arithmetical schemes gained wide currency: in Babylonia the schemes for the variable length of daylight and night, in Greece similar schemes for the determination of hours by means of the length of the human shadow. Very little is known of an “astrology” in the Hellenistic sense of the word from this early time in Mesopotamia. But the really decisive difference lies in the fact that the Babylonians made a serious—and in the end extremely successful—attempt to control their lunar calendar mathematically by unravelling step by step the different periodic variations which cause the intricate pattern in the variation of the time between consecutive new crescents. The resulting mathematical procedures represent undoubtedly one of the most outstanding scientific achievements of antiquity. Its direct effect was, however, very small indeed as its scientific content is concerned; but peripheral elements had an enormous spread, geographically as well as chronologically, and provide for the historian who is familiar with the original context one of the most powerful tools for establishing the routes of transmission of scientific methods.

The popular belief of antiquity that astrology originated with the “Chaldeans” certainly contains an element of truth, although the textual evidence for Babylonian astrology (as distinct from celestial omens) is rather meager and belongs only to the later periods. This fact has caused W. Gundel to go to the other extreme and to seek the origin of astrology in Egyptian civilization. In fact, however, one can be sure on the basis of all Egyptian documentation that the only component of ultimately Egyptian origin in astrology is the “decans” which were assimilated to the zodiac of Babylonian origin in the early Ptolemaic period. But the enormous expansion of astrology into an all-encompassing doctrine is undoubtedly a purely

⁵ As another example of historical clichés in which practically every sentence is wrong may be quoted (remarks in [] are mine): “The final synthesis by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* . . . shows in fact great mathematical resourcefulness, a new use of Babylonian techniques, but no change except a yielding of principles: the uniformity of circular motion . . . had to be abandoned at last [why?] in favor of more complicated hypotheses. But by that time no one thought of forcing his way back [to where?]. The tool [which one?] controlled the men.” (Giorgio de Santillana, *The Origin of Scientific Thought* (Chicago, 1961), p. 250).

Hellenistic product, developed from a comparatively modest Babylonian nucleus.^{5a} It is perhaps useful occasionally to remember that the so-called Greek mind not only produced works of the highest artistic and intellectual level but also could indulge in the development of the most absurd doctrines of a pseudo-rational superstition which contributed heavily to the "darkness" of later ages.

For the spread of certain scientific methods, however elementary, the ultimate Babylonian origin of astrology is of great importance. Most of the methods which spread with Hellenistic astrology to India and (directly or indirectly) to the West belong to the elementary level of Babylonian astronomy. Thus early Babylonian-Hellenistic scientific methodology, at that level, remained the main tool of astrological practice and the refinements neither of Babylonian mathematical astronomy nor of the *Almagest* had an essential influence on the formation of astrological methodology for the determination of the position of the celestial bodies and for questions of spherical astronomy. There are strong indications, however, that much which we find of Hellenistic material in Hindu astronomy reflects the situation of astronomical knowledge in the time of Hipparchus. That direct Babylonian influence reached India seems to me not very likely—e.g., all the foreign technical terms are Greek—such that Babylonian components in Hindu astronomy can be taken as evidence for a corresponding influence on Hellenistic astronomy for the early period. This view is supported by the discovery, in Greek papyri of the early Roman imperial period, of methods which are characteristic for a certain class of sources from India (Tamil).^{5b} Only in passing may be remarked that there is no evidence whatever for a Babylonian origin of the concept of "lunar mansions," however frequent such an origin has been assumed in the literature.

Beside the use of the sexagesimal number system and the zodiacal division of the ecliptic, the employment of the "lunar days" of exactly $\frac{1}{30}$ of a mean synodic month goes back to Babylonian astronomy. The consistent use of a strict lunar

calendar made it necessary to introduce smaller units in terms of the lunar month as fundamental unit of time measurement. This clear and convenient definition was perverted in later Indian astronomy and astrology to the use of thirtieths (*tithi*) of true lunar months, i.e., to units variable in a very complicated fashion from month to month. In other words, the Hindus reintroduced into the definition of *tithis* (as they are still used in India today) exactly the complication which it was the purpose of the Babylonian invention to avoid.

Since from early times the Babylonian calendar (not the Assyrian one) had the tendency to co-ordinate the lunar calendar more or less with the seasons of the solar year, the mathematization of astronomy in the fifth century B.C. is also reflected in a definite intercalation cycle, usually called the "Methonic cycle," which intercalates seven additional months in nineteen lunar years. This quite accurate and convenient cycle in combination with the continued counting of the regnal years of Seleucus I, beginning at 312 B.C., constitutes one of the greatest advances in practical chronology. Here we have for the first time a precise era in which dates can be accurately established according to simple computational rules. It is not surprising that Islamic astronomers made much use of this era (or a modification, the era of Philip) and it should be mentioned that the chronology of the modern historians for the Hellenistic age is based on Father Epping's decipherment of the terminology of astronomical cuneiform texts in their relation to the Seleucid era. Another aspect of the later history of the nineteen-year cycle is contained in the stormy history of the Easter cycles—analogueous to the history of the *tithis* in so far as a simple and practical solution of one problem was contaminated by additional conditions (e.g., Easter limits) which deprived the original solution of its main value, simplicity. Indeed, that simplicity was the element that recommended the nineteen-year cycle to the Babylonian astronomers is demonstrated by the fact that the mathematical astronomical texts of the whole Seleucid-Parthian period maintained the use of the nineteen-year cycle as the chronological skeleton of their computations in spite of the fact that they used, for their lunar ephemerides themselves, relations of higher accuracy than those reflected in the calendar cycle.

That much of the astronomical elementary

^{5a} For clear evidence of Babylonian astrology in Hellenistic Egyptian texts see R. A. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* (Providence, Brown University Press, 1959).

^{5b} The whole problem of Babylonian influences on astronomy and astrology in India is now discussed in a masterful article by David Pingree, *Isis* 54 (1963) : 229-246.

knowledge of later times originated in Babylonian astronomy is not difficult to show. For example relations for planetary phenomena, fundamental for the Babylonian "Goal-year-texts"⁶ (but refined in the mathematical-astronomical texts), reappear in Greek and mediaeval astrological treatises. Similarly, certain patterns for the anomalous motion of the moon and of the planets have been found in Greek as well as in Demotic papyri⁷ while their use in Indian and in Islamic sources is equally attested.⁸

A particular modification of an early scheme in Babylonian astronomy has greatly influenced ancient geography: I refer to their arithmetical patterns for relating the variable length of daylight to the position of the sun in the ecliptic. This simple scheme (existing in two variants, "System A," strictly linear, and "System B," with double the ordinary difference in the middle of the increasing and decreasing branches) was adopted, probably in the second century B.C.,⁹ to the latitude of Alexandria and subsequently to other geographical latitudes. There is no trace anywhere in Babylonian astronomy for the concept of "geographical latitude" and consequently for provisions necessary for the adaptation of their procedures for other localities. Had astronomy originated during the Assyrian empire the situation might have been different; but the astronomers of the fourth century could not feel the need to see their computation applied outside a narrow area from Uruk to Babylon.

The world of the Greeks in Alexandria was of different dimensions; it extended from the Far East and India to Spain and from the Upper Nile to the Crimea and beyond. Obviously the Babylonian scheme for the variation of the length of days and nights would not do for such an area. But the mathematical device in itself was simple and easy to modify—again in a typical Babylonian fashion by a linear variation of the extremal length of daylight but otherwise unchanged pattern. According to this scheme one distinguishes "climates" of equal length of daylight, arranged in the simple pattern of half-hour increment of the longest day.

⁶ Cf., for this concept, A. Sachs, "A Classification of Babylonian Astronomical Tablets of the Seleucid Period," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 2 (1950): 271–290.

⁷ E.g., R. A. Parker, "Two Demotic Astronomical Papyri in the Carlsberg Collection," *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1962): 143–147.

⁸ I am using here unpublished material recently uncovered by E. S. Kennedy.

⁹ Hypsicles' *Anaphorikos* is our earliest source.

Again, as everywhere else, the strictly Babylonian procedure was eventually eliminated (probably shortly before Ptolemy, if not by himself) when Greek spherical trigonometry replaced the cruder arithmetical patterns. But, as a concept, the sequence of the climates of linearly increasing length of the longest day remained unchanged and dominated geographical lore from antiquity through Islam and the western Middle Ages. Simultaneously the original Babylonian scheme (even in such details as the definition of the eighth degree of Aries as the solar position at the vernal equinox) remained in use in the astrological literature (e.g., among many others, in the *Anthology* of Vettius Valens of the second century A.D.) and spread with it to India, where we find the unchanged Babylonian System A in the writings of Varaha Mihira (sixth century A.D.) applied for latitudes entirely different from Babylon. Intelligent modifications of the Babylonian arithmetical scheme for the latitude of Persia are described by al-Birûni (around A.D. 1000) as used by "the people of Babylon."¹⁰

The absence of recognition in Babylonian astronomy of any influence of geographical coordinates on astronomical procedures makes it obvious that at no time of its existence could Babylonian astronomy predict that the path of a certain solar eclipse—whether visible at Babylon or not—would cross Asia Minor. In other words it is clear that even the methods of the Seleucid period would not explain the alleged approximate prediction by Thales of a solar eclipse for Ionia. Since for a given region no simple periodicity of solar eclipses exists, the only way to predict a solar eclipse would have been to investigate mathematically every conjunction (or at least every sixth conjunction) for the given place and moment. This is indeed the procedure still followed by Ptolemy and by Islamic and Byzantine astronomers—not before the Renaissance could one compute eclipse paths, because this requires a much better knowledge of the solar parallax than the observational methods of antiquity, restricted to naked-eye techniques, could provide. That Thales had even the faintest idea of the problems involved is out of the question, quite aside from the fact that Mesopotamian "astronomy" of the early sixth century B.C. made at best the first stumbling attempts to construct quantitative schemes to describe the variation of

¹⁰ Mark Lesley, "Birûni on Rising Times and Daylight Lengths," *Centaurus* 5 (1956–1958): 138.

the length of daylight or to measure the shadow lengths.

While the enthusiasts for Ionian philosophy will not desist from allowing Thales to borrow non-existing methods from Babylonian astronomers, another fabulous achievement, the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes, has a better change of disappearing from the literature because this amounts to restoring a pearl to the crown of the Greeks. Since Schnabel's theory of the Babylonian discovery of precession was based on taking seriously a scribal error (interchange of cuneiform 4 and 7—as common as A and Δ in Greek), it sufficed to find the other half of the text, extant in Chicago and unknown to Schnabel, containing other scribal errors more than outbalancing the first one. In fact before Newton's understanding of the relation between the precession of the equinoxes and the flattening of the earth's globe, the discovery of a slow gradual change in the longitudes of stars is neither a great achievement nor of theoretical interest for ancient astronomers—it only requires the preservation of records sufficiently old to establish beyond doubt the existence and amount of the effect.

The really significant contribution of Babylonian astronomy to Greek astronomy, in particular to Hipparchus' astronomy, lies in the establishment of very accurate values for the characteristic parameters of lunar and planetary theory¹¹ and in particular in the careful separation of the components of the lunar motion—longitude, anomaly, latitude, and nodal motion. The value of one of these parameters, the evaluation of the length of the mean synodic month as 29;31,50,8,20 days is not only fundamental for Hipparchus' theory of the moon but still appears in the Toledan Tables of the eleventh century. Islamic astronomy of the ninth century received its first impulses from Persia and India and assimilated the Ptolemaic refinements only somewhat later (in particular through al-Battānī, around 900). The earlier phase is mainly represented by al-Khwārizmī and influenced Spanish Islamic astronomy which remained somewhat outside the development in the Near East, Persia and Byzantium. But the European revival of astronomy beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries took place mainly in Spain and Southern France and thus reflects again the Hindu, ultimately Babylonian, component of Is-

lamic astronomy. Not until the full recovery of the Ptolemaic methods in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century did the influences directly traceable to Babylonia of the Seleucid-Parthian period disappear.

For the modern historian there remains as the greatest unsolved question the problem of the transmission of astronomical knowledge from the temple schools in Uruk and Babylon to men like Hipparchus or Apollonius. The situation for astronomy is very different from the parallel situation in mathematics. This difference is very outspoken even in modern historical research. Ancient pre-Greek mathematics is easy to understand since it concerns only the elementary facts of arithmetic, geometry, and algebra. This material must have been accessible in countless elementary treatises at all periods and in all areas of the Near East. The astronomy of the Hellenistic period is a quite different matter. Not that the mathematical methods in themselves are more advanced than in the ordinary contemporary mathematics. The real difficulty lies in the astronomical motivation for the complex interplay of difference sequences which represent the different components of lunar and planetary motions. The determination of the characteristic parameters of periodic difference sequences of different order as well as the design of interpolation methods applicable to these difference sequences requires arguments totally outside the framework of ordinary ancient mathematics—in fact often strangely similar to the numerical methods of the latest Islamic period and to the beginning of modern "applied" mathematics.

It is obvious that the transmission of this type of material cannot be ascribed to any latent knowledge contained in easily accessible treatises. Even if we completely disregard the very serious practical difficulty of utilizing cuneiform material, we must assume a careful and extended training by competent Babylonian scribes and computers in order to account for the profitable use of any of the Babylonian ephemerides. We have at our disposal enough cuneiform instructions for the computation of lunar and planetary ephemerides to be able to say that they require a great deal of study and additional instruction and astronomical knowledge before it is possible to use them properly. And of the arguments upon which this mathematical theory was constructed these "Procedure Texts" contain nothing. It is therefore not surprising that the Greek astronomical literature does not contain a trace of factual information concerning the theo-

¹¹ Cf. Asger Aaboe, "On the Babylonian Origin of some Hipparchian Parameters," *Centaurus* 4 (1955-1956): 122-125.

retical foundations of Babylonian astronomy. Perhaps this silence is not accidental but reflects the fact that Greek astronomy did not know too much about the details of the Babylonian techniques and their theoretical and historical foundations. This might have forced the Greeks to look for methods of their own to solve the problems which arise in

the mathematical description of the motion of the celestial bodies, a task which Apollonius and Hipparchus began and Ptolemy completed by bringing the planetary theory to the same degree of perfection as the lunar theory of old, but on the basis of cinematic models and spherical trigonometry, both unknown to his Babylonian predecessors.

CUNEIFORM LAW AND THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

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"I, Hammurabi, am a righteous ruler, one to whom the Sun-god has granted the eternal truths" (Code of Hammurabi xxvi 95-98)

I

CIVILIZATIONS, like individuals, are known by their works. The most significant contributions of antiquity are those that posterity took over and has kept alive. And nowhere is the survival span greater than with the legacy of the historic civilization of Mesopotamia.

Our cultural debt to that remote civilization is far more substantial and varied than is generally recognized. When we reckon today our years by the sun and our weeks by the moon, and call the days of the week after the planets; when we look at our time-pieces to tell the hours and the minutes and the seconds in conformance with the sexagesimal system of numeration; when we approach the "babel" of tongues with the tools of linguistic analysis; when we write our official records, our scholarly treatises, our literary creations, or our private letters; when we reaffirm our faith in laws impersonally conceived and in government that shuns autocracy—when we do these and many other things, we are utilizing, whether we know it or not, the results of an immemorial experiment in living in which ancient Mesopotamia played a leading part.

Two of these achievements in particular stand out above all others, namely, writing and law. Writing has been perhaps the greatest single factor in the advance of mankind to date; for though science may have overcome space, writing conquered time, by converting all history into a continuous and indelible record. Yet that particular contribution of Mesopotamia was but an incidental by-product, a surface feature rather than a basic element of the parent civilization. Law, on the other hand, was bound up intimately with the very fabric of the underlying society. Since Mesopotamian law was to emerge as the overriding cultural factor at home and a potent influence on other cultures near and far, a closer look at that institution should be of more than merely antiquarian interest. It can be shown, I believe, that the subject

matter transcends regional, chronological, and inter-disciplinary boundaries.

With so much involved, it is fortunate that the pertinent sources are plentiful—indeed an embarrassment of riches. Our material ranges in time from the middle of the third to the end of the first millennium B.C., spanning thus the first half of all recorded history. And because there is at first nothing like it from any other land, the early legal records from Mesopotamia constitute the initial chapter in the history of jurisprudence in general. Geographically, the records stretch from Iran to the shores of the Mediterranean, and from Asia Minor to the borders of Egypt, thereby outstripping in each direction the boundaries of historic Mesopotamia. The languages involved include Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, and Hittite, among others. The total volume is literally incalculable, since much that has been dug up so far is yet to be published, and new texts are coming to light all the time. A single private home in the small provincial town of Nuzi, covering but a few generations, has yielded an archive of close to a thousand legal documents—almost three times as many as have come down to us from all of Egypt prior to the Persian era. As a result, we know that minor and out-of-the-way community from the middle of the second millennium B.C. more intimately than we know many a European capital at the time of Columbus.

The main thing, however, is that the legal tradition concerned is closely integrated in spite of the underlying differences in date, geography, political background, and language. The unifying factors outweigh all the divisive elements combined. One such common bond is the cuneiform script which was shared by all the languages and countries in question, so much so that even precision-conscious jurists speak today of "cuneiform law" rather than Mesopotamian law.¹ And if pedants should

¹ Paul Koschaker, "Keilschriftrecht," *Zeitschr. d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 89 (1935): 26.

demur on the ground that no discipline is wedge-shaped, and that such a label might be all too suggestive of sharp practices, they may be assured that the name is only a short-cut and that the practice was pursued with utmost propriety.

Another major unifying factor derives from the character and content of cuneiform law: wherever the system was in force, and whatever local modifications it may have exhibited, the fundamental concept was one and the same. This concept can be traced in each instance to its home base in southern Mesopotamia, the very region from which the script itself had fanned out as part of a broader cultural process. All in all, we have abundant material to study most of the periods and areas concerned, and thus gauge the grip that cuneiform law exercised on its host of followers throughout the long history of Mesopotamian civilization, as well as the effect that it had on later cultures.

II

Complex systems are often found to stem from deceptively simple principles. Cuneiform law is a case in point.

The basic premise of cuneiform law, the source to which the institution as a whole owed both its content and its vitality, may be summarized as follows: Law is an aspect of the cosmic order and hence ultimately the gift of the forces of the universe. The human ruler is but a temporary trustee who is responsible to the gods for the implementation of the cosmic design. Because the king is thus answerable to powers outside himself, his subjects are automatically protected against autocracy, and the individual has the comfort and assurance of certain inalienable rights.²

Now if this is indeed the master key to the social history of Mesopotamia, it ought to operate with regularity regardless of time and place. The fact is that it does just that. The concept of law that has just been outlined is implicit in the very term that the Mesopotamians used for a comprehensive definition. In Akkadian, which merely reflects here the antecedent Sumerian, "law" is

epitomized by the nontechnical phrase *kittum u mēšarum*, literally "truth and right." The two nouns are mutually complementary. In the Epilogue to his celebrated Code (from which the quotation at the beginning of this paper has been adduced) Hammurabi³ states explicitly that the sun god Shamash, patron of justice, bestowed on him the various forms of *kittum* (expressed in the pl. *kīnātim*), whereas the authority of the legislator was limited to *mēšarum*. A slightly earlier ruler of the nearby center of Mari goes even further.⁴ Shamash himself was not the source of *kittum* but only its guardian, for that boon, being eternal and universal, could not originate with gods, let alone mortals. An immutable aspect of the cosmic order, *kittum* is semantically the same as Biblical *'emet* (from **'amint*), the original force of which still survives in the common loanword "Amen." The independent function of a ruler, whether divine or human, is confined to *mēšarum*, that is, just and equitable implementation. In other words, *kittum* and *mēšarum* combined express eternal verities.⁵ Jointly, they spell law, but it is a broad and universally valid concept that is thus described, a system that is tantamount to a treasured way of life.

How the Mesopotamians arrived at such an affirmation is outside the scope of the present statement. What matters is that they did and that this approach was to have immensely fruitful consequences. At home, it made for order and stability under a state that was incompatible with autocracy, not just in theory but in actual practice; and the subjects, for their part, cherished the system, for it put even the lowliest among them on a par with the ruler in their common dependence upon higher powers. Abroad, various other lands proved eager to follow suit, however hostile they might be on other counts toward the political set-up in contemporary Babylonia.

Let us review briefly some of the major results in the central concept that has just been outlined, starting with internal developments.

(1) Truths that are considered valid forever cannot vary with time or person. Hence the laws

² I have dealt with various aspects of this subject on several occasions. Cf. "Ancient Mesopotamia and the Beginnings of Science," *Nature* 146 (1940): 705-709; "Some Sources of Intellectual and Social Progress in the Ancient Near East," *Studies in the History of Culture*, Waldo G. Leland Volume (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942), pp. 51-62; "Early Law and Civilization," *Canadian Bar Review* 31 (1953): 863-877; "Authority and Law in Mesopotamia," *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.*, Suppl. 17 (1954): 8-15. See also Th. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Jour. Near East. Stud.* 2 (1943): 159-172.

³ Col. xxiv, rev. 96-98; cf. "Authority and Law . . .," 12-13. The conventional form "Hammurabi" (instead of "Hammurapi") has been retained here for the sake of convenience.

⁴ Inscription of Yaḥdun-Lim, *Syria* 32 (1955): lines 4-6: "[Shamash,] whose allotted portion is *mēšerum* (local variant of *mēšarum*), and to whom *kīnātim* (nom. pl. of *kittum*) have been granted as a gift."

⁵ Cf. the Biblical pair *'met w'sedeq* "truth and righteousness," that is, eternal truths justly implemented.

that embody or reflect such truths are both timeless and impersonal.

(2) Interpretation of the law conceived in this fashion must not be left to lay parties. It has to be entrusted instead to professional judges.

(3) In their effort to arrive at decisions in consonance with sanctioned norms, the judges were often obliged to look to established precedent. In this pursuit they were aided not only by compilations or codes,⁶ but also by comprehensive dictionaries of legal phrases and clauses, which had been compiled as early as 2000 B.C.,⁷ some centuries before Hammurabi.

(4) A professional judiciary and the validity of precedent go hand in hand with the paramount authority of the written document, its ubiquitous presence, and its reverent handling. This is why Mesopotamians were such ardent believers in texts, and more particularly the legal document,⁸ the written word serving as a tangible guarantee of the rights of the individual in society, and of harmony between society and the cosmos.

(5) A commitment in writing was a commitment not merely to the other party or parties, but even more so to the higher powers from whom the law stemmed. This solemn obligation was underscored by the use of the cylinder seal. Attestation by means of a seal impression was markedly more binding than a signature or a sworn assurance. The cylinder was fundamentally a detachable surrogate for the person, a piece of oneself.⁹ In leaving its impression on a clay tablet, man surrendered himself to the powers of nature, who could then mete out due punishment in case of noncompliance. In exceptionally serious situations even this ominous pledge was insufficient; hence the still more personal imprints of fingerprints,¹⁰ or impressions of the fringe of the garment worn at the time in question were either added or

substituted. For the most part, however, the seal was deemed to be adequate. It identified the wearer as a responsible member of a civilized community, one who had been deputized, as it were, by the immortal stewards of the universe. As Herodotus was to remind us after the books on an independent Mesopotamia had already been closed at long last, no self-respecting Babylonian was likely to be seen without such a seal.¹¹ And the Bible tells us that even distant cultural clients of Mesopotamia subscribed to the same beliefs and practices, as witness the incident of Judah and Tamar.¹² The seal was thus in effect an isotope of Mesopotamia's cultural expansion and an index to that country's influence. All this gives new meaning to the term "Fertile Crescent," a meaning that was scarcely apparent to J. H. Breasted when he coined the phrase.

III

So much for the essential characteristics of Mesopotamian law in its domestic operation. Its strength derived from the premise that law on earth must be in harmony with cosmic law and order. It remains now to examine the dynamic capabilities of the Mesopotamian system as evidenced by its effect on Babylonia's neighbors, other societies of the ancient Near East, and finally the Classical world and hence ultimately also Western civilization.

To begin with, Assyria remained to the end the bitter political rival of Babylonia. As a society, however, Assyria was thoroughly Babylonianized—in language, religious and cultural traditions, and particularly in law. There is indeed the inherent probability that the spread of legal concepts was largely responsible in turn for the other instances of cultural and social colonization. The same holds true of Western Iran in so far as law and government were concerned. To be sure, both Assyria and Elam were ruled at one time or another from Southern Babylonia, which might have accounted for the nonpolitical influence as well. But there are other instances where no comparable political factors were at work. The Syrian city-state of Alalakh, for ex-

⁶ G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford, 1952) 1: pp. 5 ff.

⁷ B. Landsberger, *ana ittišu* (Rome, 1937).

⁸ Par. 7 of the Code of Hammurabi states explicitly that a purchase without contract and witnesses exposes the buyer to suspicion of theft and a possible death penalty; cf. also par. 40 of the considerably earlier Code of Eshnunna; see A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, Ann. Am. Sch. Or. Res. (New Haven, 1956) 20: pp. 113–115.

⁹ For this function of the seal and its analogues cf. P. Koschaker, *Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 116–117.

¹⁰ G. Boyer, *Symbolae Koschaker*, Studia et Documenta (Leiden, 1939) 2: pp. 208–218.

¹¹ II 195. On the legal significance of the seal in general cf. M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen* (Oslo, 1931), pp. 135–141.

¹² Genesis 38: 18. The point of this incident is not just personal identification but basic responsibility. In this particular instance the seal, as a solemn voucher, literally made the difference between life and death.

ample, was never dominated by Babylonia; yet it used Babylonian law and struggled with the Akkadian language as far back as the age of Hammurabi. Just so, the kingdom of Mitanni followed the same course at a time when Mitanni was the leading state in Western Asia. Similarly, Ugarit had its own dialect and employed a local alphabetic script for various administrative and literary purposes. When it came, however, to legal and diplomatic matters, Ugarit fell back on syllabic cuneiform and the Akkadian language, for such was the accepted practice in that part of the world. The Hittites, for their part, composed their legal code in their own distinctive kind of Indo-European or Indo-Hittite. Yet the very fact that the Hittites produced a law code altogether, one which reflects Mesopotamian influence not only in script but also in concept, places the product within the province of Mesopotamian jurisprudence.

It is thus apparent that one of the outstanding characteristics of Mesopotamian law was its strong appeal to other cultural centers. Where the exported goods still carry their original wrapping and labels—the script, the language, and the formal document¹³—the ultimate source can be identified at a glance. But even where such identifying marks are absent, the content can still be traced to its home base. A primary case in point is furnished by the Bible.

This is not to dredge up once again the old pan-Babylonian heresy. On the contrary, it is now increasingly apparent that the biblical process as a whole originated in a resolute protest against the religious orientation of Mesopotamia.¹⁴ But this does not imply by any means that the Biblical leaders renounced everything that stemmed from east of the Euphrates. There is scarcely a section of the Old Testament, especially in its early portions, that fails to reflect some form of influence from Abraham's homeland—which is precisely what one should expect in the circumstances. And nowhere is such influence more pronounced than in the general field of law.

Whether one takes up the Book of the Covenant in Exodus, the legal material in Leviticus, Numbers, or Deuteronomy, or pertinent passages in various narrative accounts, the most intimate kind of connection is immediately apparent to anyone

who has dealt with both the Biblical and the Mesopotamian material. Yet mere correspondence in detail does not begin to define the closeness of the relationship involved. It is in the basic concepts of law and government that the strong ties between the Bible and Mesopotamia are especially prominent and significant.

In Israel, as in Mesopotamia, man was never the source of the law but only its servant. In both lands law was a gift from on high, a way of life that made all the difference between civilization and barbarism. The Bible epitomizes this approach in its term "Torah." If the Torah were no more than a collection of legalistic norms, Israel could scarcely have pointed the way to spiritual and social progress. Yet it was in Mesopotamia that the process got underway, thanks to the realization that *mēšarum* without *kittum* (or *šedeq* without *'emet* in biblical terminology) would be but a blind alley.

As in Mesopotamia, moreover, so too in Israel the law was the real backbone of society. This is why legal analysis was taken up with renewed vigor in the Mishnah, and eventually attained its fullest scope in the Babylonian Talmud. This last achievement surely owed a great deal to the circumstance of its Babylonian locale. Although historic Mesopotamia had expired centuries earlier, her legal traditions were far from extinct. Small wonder, therefore, that the Babylonian Talmud teems with loanwords not only from the Akkadian but even from the antecedent Sumerian. Thanks to such interconnections, the Talmudic and the cuneiform sources have much to offer each other in terms of illustration and clarification; this enormously rich mine of information is as yet virtually untapped. To this very day, the orthodox Jew uses a Sumerian term when he speaks of divorce. And when he participates in the reading of the Torah lesson in the synagogue, he still touches the pertinent place in the scroll with the fringe of his prayer shawl, wholly unaware of the fact that he is thus re-enacting the scene in which the ancient Mesopotamian impressed the hem of his garment on a clay tablet, as proof of his commitment to the provisions of the legal record.¹⁵ The language and the persons and the circumstances have changed, the objectives are different, but the symbolism remains the same after some forty centuries.

¹³ Koschaker, "Keischriftrecht," 28.

¹⁴ Cf. my paper, "Three Thousand Years of Bible Study," *Centennial Review* 4 (East Lansing, Mich., 1960): 206-220 (esp. p. 228).

¹⁵ The pertinent formula appears in the documents from Nuzi as follows: "[The participant] left an impression of the hem of his garment in the presence of witnesses."

Another case in point is the legal material in Old Aramaic. The papyri from Elephantine, at the southern extremity of Egypt, a small island manned by a Jewish garrison in the fifth century B.C., represent legal records that are unmistakably Mesopotamian in contents and phraseology.¹⁶ So strong was the underlying legal tradition that it could be maintained, in a different tongue and amidst a sharply dissimilar society, nearly two thousand miles from its ultimate center of origin.

There is further the instance of Islamic law. So many heterogeneous traditions converge in that vast conglomerate that to separate the component parts is a task calling for a combination of specialists. Nevertheless, the fact is plain that this discipline did not begin to thrive until Iraq—Mesopotamia's Arabian successor—had taken a hand in it. Devotion to law was evidently in the local air, or soil.

A brief word, in passing, about the situation in ancient Egypt. No country could have achieved Egypt's cultural record, and maintained it over a comparable period of time, without a solid framework of internal law. The only question, then, is the kind of law that prevailed there. The answer is not far to seek. The same article of faith that deified the pharaoh made it inevitable that he be also the source and master of all law. It is no surprise, therefore, that Egypt has yielded no evidence of any kind of legal code impersonally conceived, since the authority of such a code would have competed with the personal authority of the pharaoh.¹⁷ Nor can the virtual absence of legal records—there are fewer such witnesses from all of Egypt over a period of two millennia than there are from a single stray house in Mesopotamia representing no more than two centuries—be charged to pure coincidence. The obvious reason was the dominant concept of law in Egypt. By the same token, Egyptian law had scant appeal for outsiders. As suggested above, complex issues can sometimes be reduced to surprisingly simple explanations.

IV

There is thus abundant and compelling evidence that the legal tradition which originated in Mesopotamia had enough vitality to exceed its native limits in time as well as in space. It was a living and life-giving tradition because, in the final analy-

sis, it sprang from man's hope to achieve harmony with the cosmos. The question that remains to be posed is whether these social attainments in the ancient Near East had any important bearing on the Classical world. The problem can be stated at this time only in barest outline.

A direct comparison of cuneiform and Classical law is all but ruled out by chronological considerations. Legal documents in Greek do not turn up until the sixth century B.C., and then only in a trickle. The Twelve Tables of the Romans are later still. Moreover, what little we do get at first is admittedly primitive, and hence reflects an early stage of development.¹⁸ In short, where formal law was concerned, the Classical lands got off to a relatively late start. By then, Assyria had already retired from history, and Babylonia was no longer a self-ruled country. Cuneiform law as such had only a few centuries of reflex existence left to it. In these circumstances there is little opportunity to synchronize legal data from the outgoing East with those from the emerging West.

In their attempts at a comparative appraisal, nevertheless, some students have sought to trace the Twelve Tables and the prior legal material from Greece all the way back to the Code of Hammurabi.¹⁹ All such efforts are foredoomed to failure. Even in Hammurabi's time, legal imports from Babylon were adjusted to local needs and practices. Nor were Hurrian and Hittite and Biblical laws direct transcripts of Mesopotamian models. How, then, could there be a direct correlation between Classical law and Mesopotamian prototypes of far away and long ago?

The question, therefore, is not so much one of outright borrowing as of geographic and chronological links. In due course, Hellenism was to constitute a bridge between the Near East and Rome, which carried legal traffic among other kinds. To quote Paul Koschaker, himself a professor of Roman jurisprudence, "In my opinion there can be no doubt about the inclusion of oriental legal matter in Roman law—using the term 'oriental' in its broadest sense to include Hellenistic material as well."²⁰ But the Hellenistic age cannot be pushed back past the middle

¹⁸ For present purposes it will suffice to refer to the very general account of J. Wigmore, *Panorama of the World's Legal Systems* (Washington, 1928), chs. 6-8.

¹⁹ Cf. M. Mühl, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen und althellenistischen Gesetzgebung* (Leipsic, 1933); for Koschaker's criticism see his "Keilschriftrecht": 31, note 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶ See especially E. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953).

¹⁷ J. A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 49-50.

of the first millennium B.C., let alone leave room for the required incubation period. The contacts, then, must be sought elsewhere and much earlier.

We know, of course, that the Phoenicians flourished at the turn of the second millennium, and that farther back the Hittites were a dominant power. Both peoples were in close touch with the Aegeans. Indeed, Hittite relations with the West were intimate enough to be reflected in Greek mythology and literature.²¹ Nevertheless, the case we are after does not have to be made abroad. Aegeans themselves have been positively identified in Syria in the fourteenth century B.C. In the port of Ugarit a special quarter was occupied by Minoans who had established there a merchant colony. Similar trading posts existed in all likelihood elsewhere along the Phoenician coast. Now trade was the one occupation above all others in which the written document was a necessity in all areas within the reach of cuneiform law. As was pointed out above, there are many business documents from Ugarit itself which were written, significantly enough, not in the local alphabet but in syllabic cuneiform and in the Akkadian language. The Minoan traders could not escape involvement in such written business transactions. In due time, they were bound to copy the process in dealings among themselves. As a matter of fact, samples of Minoan script have actually turned up in Ugarit, for law and literacy went hand in hand. The subsequent adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks was due undoubtedly to similar commercial intercourse. Thus it was barter, not Homer, that made the Greeks literate. Progress often travels by such devious paths.

Now when traders take over a script in compliance with the legal demands of their profession, they have been exposed not only to the juridical details but also to the underlying concepts. Since the ideas that shaped the law of

the Mesopotamian pioneers promoted a way of life that militated against autocracy in government, it would be an anachronism to persist in the claim that the Greeks' aversion to authoritarianism was wholly a homegrown product.

When it comes to the development of Roman law, there are many threads to disentangle. One has to reckon with the influence of Greece, eventual contacts with the Near East itself, and the growing administrative pressures of an increasingly unwieldy political structure. Each of these factors must have had its effect on Roman law. The results could scarcely be homogeneous. At a minimum, Rome was indebted to the Near East, though indirectly rather than directly, for the law code and the legal document. That these instruments did not in the end prevent absolutism was due apparently to internal developments. But one cannot help wondering, just the same, whether Rome's growing familiarity with Egypt, the one Near Eastern exception to an otherwise consistent anti-autocratic norm, did not play its part in bringing absolute rule to Rome.

Today, though we freely acknowledge our manifold debt to Greece and the Bible, we do not always appreciate the extent to which Israel and Greece contributed to one of our fundamental affirmations, namely, that truly constructive power is power vested outside the agent who wields it. This abiding truth, however, was discovered long before the start of the Biblical and the Greek experiences. It was first glimpsed in ancient Mesopotamia; and once glimpsed, it was held on to tenaciously as a source of strength at home and an example to others abroad.

In over-all retrospect, we are justified in adding to the proverbial maxim *Ex Oriente Lux* a fitting twin with the name of *Ex Oriente Lex*. The light in this instance is in many ways but another aspect of law. And the region of the Orient which had much to do with the progressive dissemination of both light and law was ancient, but by no means outmoded, Mesopotamia.

²¹ Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *Amer. Jour. Arch.* 52 (1948): 123-134.

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